

AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE
JOHANNESBURG AREA, 1903-1923

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my own unaided work. No part of it has in the past been submitted for a degree to any university and no information used was obtained by me while employed by, or working under the aegis of, any person or organisation.

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ABSTRACT

In 1886 Johannesburg was little more than a mining camp. By the end of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), there had taken place a considerable influx of whites and Africans into Johannesburg. This research investigates responses to the growth and development of the Johannesburg area between 1903 and 1923 as a multi-racial entity. While much has been written about mines and formal organisations such as trade unions, little is known about the "'common people' in their local and mundane settings",⁽¹⁾ and it is on this aspect that this study concentrates. It considers the roles of the local and the central authorities, as well as white and African communities themselves.

The study is presented in part in narrative form, but after considering early developments in connection with the town of Johannesburg and its people, it isolates a number of themes and these are studied in relation to Africans in the Johannesburg area. First there is an account of the places in which Africans settled on first arriving in Johannesburg. This is followed by an investigation of attempts to implement urban segregation, and of the communities that subsequently evolved. An attempt is then made to explain the means by which these African communities were controlled by the white authorities in such a way that a system in which Africans had no decision-making role could be maintained. The white community that expressed itself mainly in the form of public bodies and official action is then considered, and lastly the role of the African community itself.

The study of these themes in relation to Johannesburg

(1) Term used at the History Workshop - The Witwatersrand: Labour, Townships and Patterns of Protest, February 1978.

is a new field and there is relatively little secondary material that is relevant. As a first step the numerous ideas relating to possible areas for further investigation were studied. A perusal of primary material was then embarked upon. The nature of the material available served as the main guideline as to the themes eventually selected. Municipal records, government reports and newspaper articles provided the foundations for this study. It was hoped that oral and visual evidence would seal many gaps, but the former proved somewhat disappointing.

Urban segregation policies that had been introduced by the local authorities were subsequently adopted by the Union Government with the promulgation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923. Local policies and practices were largely continued, even though conditions in the African areas of settlement were most unsatisfactory, despite the fact that policies and practices had given rise to organised opposition from the people upon whom they were being imposed, namely the urban Africans.

The conclusions reached in relation to each theme are summarised in the concluding chapter, Chapter VIII, where an attempt is made to draw an overall picture concerning African settlement in the Johannesburg area between 1903 and 1923.

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My appreciation is due to all those who gave so willingly of their time in aiding and guiding me through the past eighteen months. Grateful acknowledgements are due to the University of the Witwatersrand and Professor Noel Garson; to the Human Sciences Research Council for the grant that enabled me to complete the study; to Tim Couzens of the Africa Institute who tried so hard to trace old residents who recalled life in African places of residence prior to 1923; and to Joan Powell for typing this dissertation.

I wish also to thank all those who expressed interest in the themes I was considering. The benefit I derived from seminars and discussions with staff members, fellow students and other enthusiastic parties, is immeasurable.

INTRODUCTION

During the early years of industrialization in any country, the evidence suggests that many people, moving from rural areas to the new centres, do not commit themselves immediately to permanent residence in town, but that, after a good deal of movement between old and new homes, people gradually settle near their place of work. (1)

In South Africa African urbanization has not followed the same straightforward pattern. Here, the view that Africans working in the towns are 'temporary sojourners', (2) gained legislative acceptance at a national level with the passing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923. Towns were seen as white preserves, a conception that dated from 1870 when the Volksraad of the South African Republic had decreed that "geene kleurlingen zullen op Gouvernements - of dorpsgrond wonen sonder verlof". (3) The dictates of labour however made it essential that there was an unskilled labour force in towns and in every major South African town, a core of such labourers, Africans, settled. In contrast to those employed in mining, those employed in secondary industry were not brought to the towns by recruiting organisations, and although they were for example, subject to pass laws, their terms of employment, coupled with the forms of residence that developed, enabled many to settle permanently in urban areas and in due course to raise families in these areas.

This research investigates the responses to the growth and development of the Johannesburg area between

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- (1) Francis Wilson : Labour in the South African Gold Mines, p.5.
 - (2) T.P.1 - 1922.
 - (3) Law No. 9 of 1870.

1903 and 1923 as a multi-racial entity. It considers official government reactions at a local and a central level, as well as responses of white and African communities to the evolving situation. Johannesburg was selected for study because it was built around and dominated by the gold-mining industry, the backbone of the South African economy, and because it is to-day the largest urban centre in South Africa. The period between 1903 and 1923 has been investigated because in the years immediately following the Anglo-Boer (1899-1902) War there was a significant influx of people to Johannesburg, and in 1923 the Union Government for the first time adopted legislation to deal with the situation evolving in the urban areas.

The process of urbanization is exceedingly complex and it raises problems which, if they are to be handled thoroughly and effectively, require the co-operation of people involved in different disciplines. For this reason an attempt has been made to apply historical methods to the study of a limited sector, namely Africans, of a particular urban community, that of Johannesburg. While the dominant division in this community is that between Africans and whites, other groups have, where necessary, been included.

The African community itself is not always seen as a whole and the notion of class as a historical phenomenon plays its part in this study. As E.P. Thompson says: (4)

And class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs.... Class consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms : embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideos and institutional forms. If the experience appears as determined, class

(4) E.P. Thompson: The Making of the English Working Class, pp. 9-10.

consciousness does not. We can see a logic in the responses of similar occupational groups undergoing similar experiences, but we cannot predicate any law. Consciousness of class arises in the same way in different times and places, but never in just the same way.

Although this study has been limited to a section of a single local community, it cannot be viewed in microcosm. A community is part of a wider system, and events in a local community are continually being influenced by forces which operate from without. This point is stressed by Foster who states:

In working from local material, there are two levels of completeness which have to be taken into account. There is that of the individual 'community' - never much more than an arbitrary geographical bite out of a larger political system, and there is that of the system itself - seen statically at a particular moment in time. If adequate questions are to be directed at the material (and its full social significance grasped) both these levels of incompleteness have to be overcome. (5)

Yet there is much that is positive in the study of a small section of a particular community. One is able to delve more deeply into situations and into the character of the people, and it is possible to associate these more convincingly with local decisions, politics and trends in general, than if one were dealing with such questions on a larger scale. No attempt has been made to produce a 'total' history, an account of everything that concerned Africans in Johannesburg. Aspects that affected South Africa as a whole have only been touched upon. The concentration has been rather on those aspects that are peculiar to the municipal area of Johannesburg and those that are influenced by the people who live and work in Johannesburg. The focus therefore falls on how and why conditions affecting Africans evolved as they did over

(5) John Foster : Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution, pp. 2-3.

a period of time, and since Johannesburg was the centre for a concentration not only of people and buildings, but of power, this analysis is also political.

The study opens with an attempt to place Johannesburg within an overall perspective in terms of time and space. Having covered its initial growth and development, the study turns to a detailed analysis of the places in which Africans initially resided. This is then followed by a close and detailed investigation of the development of segregation and the evolution of municipal policy in relation to the housing of Africans. Since housing constituted the core of the problem that faced the Municipal Council of Johannesburg following the urban influx, it has been separated from the other aspects of municipal policy that are dealt with in Chapter V.

Chapter IV concentrates on the settlements and the actual communities themselves. Here an attempt is made to compare and contrast privately-established townships, municipally-established locations and compounds.⁽⁶⁾ Because these are such an unknown quantity, they are described in great detail with the nature of the information available as the main guide-line. An attempt has been made to piece together as much of the 'story' as possible. In the final analysis the rather 'patchwork' nature of sections of the study must be conceded. Facts available often did not relate to the same years so that for purposes of comparison and contrast it was sometimes necessary to assume that a particular condition or situation was static over a period of time. Furthermore, because of problems encountered in relation to the availability of material, newspaper reports as opposed to official documents often had to be relied on. Particular communities are being investigated so that only what is peculiar to a particular community is considered. For example, the influence of town life on tradition, an

(6) See Explanatory Note on Sources, p.189.

aspect that is largely uniform for African communities, is ignored.

While Chapters II and III concentrate on housing, the two chapters that follow examine in more depth points touched on in the previous two chapters. From here the study moves on to the roles of the white and African communities themselves, in the situation evolving in Johannesburg. The approach to Chapter VII which deals with African responses, or more specifically, resistance, is rather different from that of earlier chapters. Here Africans are no longer seen as the objects, but as the subjects contributing to the situation evolving in the manner that it did.

The organization of a study of this nature presents its own special problems. On the one hand, a sense of movement through time is necessary. On the other hand, a purely chronological, year by year approach, that attempted to include all aspects relating to a particular year, would be highly confusing. For this reason a number of themes are isolated and their evolution is studied in separate chapters over the twenty-year period. As a result, much use has to be made of cross-referencing, and sometimes certain basic information is provided in more than one chapter.

CHAPTER I

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Gold was first discovered on the Witwatersrand on the Jukskei River in the District of Pretoria in 1854, by an Afrikaner named Marcus.⁽¹⁾ Since the government of the South African Republic feared an influx of aliens from neighbouring territories, it prohibited prospecting under threat of a heavy fine. This decision was subsequently rescinded, and in November 1885, Jan Gerritze Bantjies (1843-1914) concluded an agreement with the owners of part of the farm "Roodepoort" in terms of which he obtained the right to prospect for gold and mine there for the next twenty-five years.⁽²⁾ He then entered into a relationship - it is not clear whether there was a partnership agreement or whether Bantjies was an employee - with the Struben brothers, H.W. and F.P.T., who had discovered that gold was actually embedded in the conglomerate or "bonket". Bantjies dug twenty tons of gold at Roodepoort, had this crushed by the Struben brothers' stamp battery at Wilgespruit, and then travelled with his ore to Potchefstroom and Kimberley. Soon the Witwatersrand-area was being flooded with aliens, most of whom were of British origin, although there were a fair number of Germans and Americans as well.

In December 1885, after gold had been found on the farm "Kromdraai" by S.J. Minnaar, S.P. Kruger, State President of the South African Republic, proclaimed this the first public digging on the Witwatersrand.⁽³⁾ A few tents and reed structures were put up, and Ferreira's

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- (1) Jeppe's Transvaal Almanac and Directory for 1889, p.69.
 - (2) Dictionary of South African Biography, vol.1, p.52, article on Jan Gerritze Bantjies.
 - (3) Dictionary of South African Biography, vol.1, p.52, article on Jan Gerritze Bantjies.

Camp began to develop into an unofficial capital. Since this had not been intended as a permanent settlement, a government farm, "Randjeslaagte," Dale of Little Ridges, was selected in September 1886 by F.C. Eloff, Secretary to Kruger, as a site suitable for a more permanent settlement.⁽⁴⁾ While this area was windy and bleak, it was close to the gold reef without actually being on it. Ownership presented no complications, and in December 1886 the township of "Johannesburg" was duly proclaimed.

Johannesburg was named after the surveyors, Johann Rissik and Christian Johannes Joubert, who had recommended the choice of its actual siting. At the time of its proclamation, it had a population of fifty.⁽⁵⁾ Within a year, its population numbered 3 000,⁽⁶⁾ most of the men of Ferreira's Camp having moved there. According to W.H. Somerset Bell who visited the area in 1886, "galvanised iron shanties were to be seen in their hundreds. Streets were tracks over the sandy soil and dense dust pervaded the whole place."⁽⁷⁾ The land was divided into small plots, 50' x 100', and each plot was to be sold as a 'stand' under the provisions of the Gold Law, on a monthly tenure and subject to a monthly licence of ten shillings.

The first auction of 936 stands was held on the 8th December 1886. The first stand sold, No. 469, raised £10. 17. 6., and altogether the stands were sold for a total of £13 000.⁽⁸⁾ Tenure was subsequently made more secure by the grant of "bezitrecht", which conferred almost complete title on the holder. Within six months 1 800 stands had been sold for a total of about £50 000. The Jeppe's Transvaal Almanac and Directory for 1889 commented

(4) T.V. Bulpin : Storm over the Transvaal, p.72.

(5) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year ending December, 1910, p.vii.

(6) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year ending December, 1910, p.vii.

(7) Barnett Collection, vol.11, pages unnumbered.

(8) T.V. Bulpin : Storm over the Transvaal, p.73.

that "one-tenth of this sum would have been sufficient shortly before the discovery of the banket reefs to purchase all the farms along the Rand." (9)

The gold-bearing ore was of a rather low grade, but this unfavourable factor was balanced by the sheer volume of ore that was concentrated in a relatively small area. By 1888 forty-four mines were in operation with a nominal capital of £6 800 000 and a gold output worth £1 300 000 per annum. (10) In 1892 the railway line from the Cape ports reached the Witwatersrand and in 1895 the Netherlands South African Railway Company established a link with Delagoa Bay. Deep-level mining was introduced in 1894.

Following the discovery of diamonds in 1867, alluvial diggings had sprung up along the Orange and the Vaal rivers. Men in their thousands had flocked to what were described as the 'dry diggings' and by 1874 10 000 Africans were employed on the diamond diggings. (11) A number of the practices developed on the diamond mines were subsequently adopted on the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. The value of large-scale mining units had been learned through experiences on the diamond mines and a similar group system whereby various syndicates and powerful corporations controlled a number of mines developed on the Witwatersrand. This system increased financial strength and made available technical knowledge superior to that that would otherwise have been provided. The concentration of ore and the clustering together of individual mines on the Witwatersrand facilitated this group system.

Another practice first introduced on the diamond mines was the compound system of housing. (12) Employers had

(9) P. 70.

(10) H. Houghton : Economic Development, 1865-1965, p.13.

(11) F. Wilson : Labour on the South African Gold Mines, 1911-1960, p.1.

(12) See F. Wilson : Labour on the South African Gold Mines, 1911-1960, pp.2-7 and C. van Onselen: Chibaro, pp. 34-38 for discussions of compounds and the mining industry. See also pp. 68 and 110-1 of this dissertation.

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suffered heavy losses as a result of illicit diamond buying and absenteeism after week-end drinking and by the late 1880s the closed compound system was an accepted feature of the diamond fields. From the very beginning some gold-mining companies such as the Langlaagte Estate, Robinsons and Jumpers erected compounds for their African employees. These companies employed from 400-600 Africans each,⁽¹³⁾ but it is not possible to reach any conclusion as to the percentage of African mine-workers actually housed in compounds. By 1899 almost 100 000 Africans were employed on the gold mines,⁽¹⁴⁾ but since there was little possibility of miners finding ingots of pure gold, a closed compound system was not adopted. By this time, 1899, the gold output was worth £20 000 000 per annum.⁽¹⁵⁾

The development of the gold-mining industry encouraged industrial expansion and led to the establishment of, as examples, local engineering works, foundries and explosive factories. The resulting population provided an important market and this in turn stimulated the rise of local industries such as furniture-making, tanning, milling and brewing. Industrialization thus encouraged a gradual drift to the newly-established town of Johannesburg, and from its very beginnings Johannesburg was dependent on mining capital and its attendant commercial interests.

The white rural exodus can be explained only in part as a response to industrialization. Other factors also played a part. As unoccupied land became scarce, on the death of the father the family farm would be sub-divided equally amongst the heirs in accordance with Roman-Dutch law. Irrational sub-division, as well as wasteful and

(13) H. Houghton and J. Dagut : Source Material on the South African Economy : 1860-1970, vol.I, p.314.

(14) F. Wilson : Labour on the South African Gold Mines, 1911-1960, p.1.

(15) H. Houghton and J. Dagut : Source Material on the South African Economy : 1860-1970, vol.I, p.262.

unsystematic methods of farming, contributed to a decline in the quality of land so that a class of squatters or "bywoners" grew out of the white farming community. Their situation was aggravated by improvements in the methods of farming, in the use of fencing and more economical grazing as examples, and these factors provided the 'push' to the towns for the white rural population.

The first private township, Paarlshoop, was laid out in 1836. Further townships were laid out in rapid succession as holders of ground in the vicinity of the mines began to lay out townships or to lease their land so that townships could be laid out. Ferreira followed the laying out of Paarlshoop. Doornfontein and Marshallstown were then laid out in 1887. Auckland Park, Belgravia, Fordsburg and Jeppestown followed in 1888, and then came Bellevue, Bertrams, Braamfontein, Mayfair and New Doornfontein in 1889. The first freehold township, Riviera, was proclaimed in 1895. (16)

The first official census conducted on the Witwatersrand in July 1896 recorded a population of 102 078 within a three mile radius of Market Square. (17) Of the 42 573 Africans, 28 338 were mine-workers. Of the 50 907 whites, 6 205 can be termed Transvaalers. There were 16 260 recent arrivals from the United Kingdom, 15 162 from the Cape Colony and 1 242 from Natal. People of Russian Jewish origin numbered 3 335. There were 2 265 people of German origin, 992 Australian, 819 Netherlander, 754 American and 402 French. The remainder of the population included 4 807 Asiatics, 952 Malays and 2 879 persons of mixed origin mainly Cape Coloured.

Until the end of 1887 local government was the responsibility of the Mining Commissioner who was responsible

(16) U.G. 34-1912, p.4 and attached maps.

(17) Johannesburg Gezondheids Comité : Report of the Director of Census, 1896.

to the central government alone. In December 1887 a Sanitary Board held its first meeting. Its members were nominated by the government and the Mining Commissioner acted as chairman. Its area of jurisdiction was a three mile radius of Market Square. In 1889 twelve members of the Sanitary Board were elected for a period of two years. A Government Commissioner who was chairman of the Board, and two other government nominees, one the District Surgeon, completed the membership of the Sanitary Board. In this election, the first for local government, and all subsequent elections only whites had the right to vote.

A Stad'sraad or Town Council was constituted in 1897.⁽¹⁸⁾ This consisted of a government-appointed Burgomaster, and initially twelve, but subsequently twenty-four, elected members. This Council had the power to impose rates and to frame regulations "which are requisite in the interest of public safety, order, morality or health".⁽¹⁹⁾

Following the British occupation of Johannesburg on the 31st May 1900, martial law was proclaimed and Major O'Meara became the military governor. With the arrival of Sir Alfred Milner in March 1901, a Council was nominated to carry out the functions of the former Town Council.⁽²⁰⁾ This functioned until December 1903, when thirty representatives were elected to replace the nominated ones, and the area of jurisdiction was extended to a radius of five-six miles of the Market Square.⁽²¹⁾ The practice of allowing only whites to vote was continued. The Draft Municipal Elections Ordinance had proposed to enfranchise all adult male ratepaying residents who owned or occupied property of a certain value, provided that the property was not located in areas reserved exclusively for non-whites.

(18) Law No. 9 of 1897.

(19) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year ending December, 1910, p.vii.

(20) Proclamation No. 16 of 1901.

(21) Proclamation No. 45 of 1903.

Even though the property qualification would effectively have excluded most non-whites,

the press and the white public generally took violent exception to the non-racial provisions of the legislation, and only one non-official member of the legislature supported the government. The offending clause was therefore withdrawn, and replaced by an explicitly racial barrier. (22)

At this time, the early 1900s, there was a significant influx of Africans to Johannesburg. Initially, labour on the mines had provided the chief means for Africans to obtain the cash income necessary to pay the money taxes imposed on them by the white authorities. The development of Johannesburg provided an alternative and after the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902, employment opportunities outside the gold-mining industry became particularly attractive. Not only was such work usually of an easier nature, but the wages paid were higher. The Chamber of Mines had reduced wages from their pre-war level of 50s. per month to an average of 30-35s. per month. In comparison, the Municipality of Johannesburg was paying labourers 50s. per month. (23)

According to the only known census before this century, that conducted by the Sanitary Committee on the 15th July 1896, there were only 14 195 Africans under its jurisdiction. (Its authority did not extend to the 28 338 African mine-workers). 37,2 per cent of this number were Zulu and 16,9 per cent were Basuto. The 14 195 Africans can be sub-divided as follows:

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- (22) D. Denoon : A Grand Illusion, p.104. For further information about Johannesburg in its early stages of development, see J.P.R. Maud : City Government, pp. 10-69.
- (23) Quoted in S. Moroney : Black Labour on the Transvaal Gold Mines, p.1.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Basuto	2 404	2 194	210
Gaika and Galeka	102	93	9
Pondo and Amabaha	459	455	4
Tembu	256	211	45
Amaxosa	1 996	1 747	249
Fingo	1 564	1 131	433
Zulu	5 292	5 173	119
Mashona and Matabele	70	65	5
Tonga	61	56	5
Swazie	83	80	3
Inyambaan	139	132	7
Shangaan	1 463	1 381	82
M'Chopi	14	13	1
Others	292	230	62
	14 195	12 961	1 234 (24)

In 1896 women thus accounted for 8,7 per cent of the African population of Johannesburg.

In 1896 Africans were employed in Johannesburg in the following manner:

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Professional	226	220	6
Domestic	4 501	3 948	553
Commerce	1 437	1 437	-
Agriculture	752	752	-
Industry	5 838	5 834	4
Indefinite	58	41	17
Dependents	585	425	130
Unspecified	828	304	524
	14 195	12 961	1 234 (25)

(24) Johannesburg Gezondheids Comité : Report of the Director of Census, 1896, Annexure, Part II, Return No.1V. The table and the terms used are quoted directly from the report.

(25) Johannesburg Gezondheids Comité : Report of the Director of Census, 1896, Annexure, Part VII, Return No.1.

The industry in which most of these people were engaged was brickmaking. Significant numbers were also involved in washing, timber works and saw mills, engineering works and iron foundries. A fair number were also involved in brewing, building, gas works, the manufacture of mineral water, flour mills, carriage and wagon-building, harness and saddle-making, printing and stone-cutting.

In the 1890s the majority of Africans employed in both mining and non-mining activity in Johannesburg came from beyond the borders of the Transvaal. An absence of adequate figures prevents any positive conclusion being reached as to the extent to which this situation continued or changed after the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer War. Denoon states:

After the war it seems reasonable to believe that Transvaal rural Africans enjoyed wider opportunities than before, and were sheltered by law and by alternative employment, from being pressed into the labour market. As late as 1905 only 10 000 Transvaal Africans were employed in the mining industry, out of a population of nearly 100 000.

Yet he also points out that "the ravages of war must have made the whole population increasingly dependent upon non-subsistence and non-agricultural employment."⁽²⁶⁾

It seems reasonable to conclude that Transvaal rural Africans began to enter Johannesburg to seek cash employment in the non-mining sector during the period of Crown Colony government. In 1904 the African population numbered 59 605,⁽²⁷⁾ but no reliable figures are available as to the number employed in the non-mining sector.

With the conclusion of the war in 1902, there was a marked increase in the size of the white population of Johannesburg. First a substantial number of soldiers, yeomanry, oversea and other irregulars, remained in the

(26) D. Denoon : A Grand Illusion, pp. 128-136.

(27) See Appendix C, p.188.

Transvaal. Secondly, immigration followed the publicity accorded the Transvaal by the war. Thirdly, a significant number of employees was brought in by the colonial government to assist in reconstructing the country. An influx also resulted from the British policy of laying waste to the land during the war. This had accentuated the "bywone-" problem so that at the conclusion of the war some 10 000 people, the majority Afrikaners, had drifted into Johannesburg. (28) By 1904 the population of Johannesburg included 83 363 whites, 7 326 Coloureds and 5 348 Asiatics, as well as the 59 605 Africans. (29)

The more outlying suburbs had already been established as the exclusive areas, and the central areas were occupied to a large extent by artisans and their families. Artisans earned between £20 and £30 per month and they found themselves having to pay on the average more than 50 per cent of their incomes in rent, plus another about 32s. per month for municipal rates, services and charges for water. (30) This situation had arisen because during the war years, house rents had trebled. During those years, there had been little activity in the field of house-building, and the congestion of railway traffic had made supplies difficult to obtain. The situation had been aggravated by the decision of the colonial government to buy or lease a considerable number of houses for its employees. In addition, the decision by government departments to grant married clerks a temporary allowance of 15 per cent of their salaries, placed a further burden on non-governmental employees. In order to pay the higher rents, storekeepers

(28) C.W. De Kiewiet : A History of South Africa - Social and Economic, p.196.

(29) See Appendix C, p.188. In 1904, 49,2 per cent of the white population belonged to the Dutch Reformed Churches. J.S. Marais in The Fall of Kruger's Republic, p.3 states that in January 1899 there were more Boers in the Transvaal than in April 1904. He also concludes that in January 1899 there may have been more Uitlander than Boer male adults since male adults formed a relatively large proportion of the Uitlander population, but that there were probably more Boers (men, women and children) than Uitlanders.

(30) Johannesburg Housing Commission, 1903, vol.1, p.8.

raised the prices of their goods. Because of the increase in the cost of living, many families began to supplement their incomes by sub-letting parts of their homes. In other instances, fathers sent families to live elsewhere. The collapse of the ostrich feather industry in the Cape led to a further influx of whites to Johannesburg.

With the expansion of the commercial and industrial activity of Johannesburg, land that had formerly been used for residential purposes tended to be used for business activities. Furthermore, there was little speculative building of the cheaper type of house that was so much in demand. Because of the costs of building materials and wages, and the high risk involved through non-payment of rent when building for a person with a low income, the return on capital invested was small.

In 1903, within the municipal area of Johannesburg there were, excluding those on the mines and in the Malay and "Kaffir" Locations, 17 900 buildings. (31) Since the white and coloured population for this area was estimated to be about 91 000, the number of persons to each building averaged five. Although this was an increase from 1896, when the average had been three-and-a-quarter, most houses stood on their own plots and overcrowding was not by 1903 a serious problem.

Some Africans arriving in Johannesburg obtained employment as domestic servants. They lived on the premises of their employers and earned £3 to £4 per month. Some were provided with accommodation by employers. The Municipal Council of Johannesburg, for example, employed 4-5 000 Africans, mainly Basuto, Pondo and Baca. (32) They were housed in compounds consisting of low iron huts and camps of tents. (33) In addition, there were a number of

(31) Johannesburg Housing Commission, 1903, vol. I, p. 10.

(32) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1.7.1904-30.6.1906, p. 22.

(33) Council Minutes, 1915-1916, p. 33.

private locations within the municipal area, and these, in 1904, provided living quarters for 2 607 Africans, 1 801 male, 378 female and 428 children. (34) The rest were left to find their own quarters, and, in common with other workers in a lower income bracket, settled in the areas nearest their places of work. Since these Africans endeavoured to obtain the same quarters as the more lowly-paid members of the white and coloured working-class, the provision of adequate housing began to pose a real problem.

The main areas in which these members of the poorer classes settled were Vrededorp, the Malay and "Kaffir" Locations, the Burgersdorp-Brickfields area and the "Coolie" Location. The government of the South African Republic had decided in 1893 that the vacant land west of the Braamfontein Cemetery should be laid out as "Coolie" and "Kaffir" Locations. The original plan had provided for 1 726 stands for "Coolies", and 1 285 for "Kaffirs". (35) This plan was revised because burghers and brickmakers at Braamfontein had sent a petition to the government, requesting that they be granted stands in the area at a small price. (36) As a result of changes made, the land that had originally been intended for "Kaffirs", that on the western side of that immediately adjoining the cemetery was turned over to poor burghers and Malays, the former getting two-thirds of it. Africans were provided with land immediately to the west. This land had been reserved for Indians, and the "Coolie" Location was now pushed further west. (37)

The land that had been set aside for burghers, Malays and Africans was immediately occupied. The township in which the burghers resided came to be known as Vrededorp, "Village of Peace", and was 66,53 acres in extent, most

(34) Council Minutes, 1904, p.866.

(35) U.G. 7-1934, p.90. - The terms "Coolie", "Kaffir" and "Native" occur throughout the text. They have been retained when in widespread use and when official terminology is being referred to.

(36) U.G. 34-1912, p.95.

(37) U.G. 7-1934, p.91.

of its 771 stands being 50' x 50'.⁽³⁸⁾ Licences were granted to persons to occupy its stands until the government chose to dispossess them. The principal condition was that licences were granted only to destitute burghers or widows of such, and tenancy was granted for as long as the first holder or his lawful heirs occupied the stand. Since stands were benefactions granted out of public assets to private individuals, they were transferable only to such persons as the Mining Commissioner considered to belong to the class of destitute burghers.⁽³⁹⁾ A stand licence cost 2s. 6d. per month, and the government had the right to forfeit the stand, and everything on it, if the licensee fell three months in arrears with his payments. In the event of the government disposing of a stand, the occupant was compensated for any actual, physical improvements effected.⁽⁴⁰⁾

During the war years, many of the original holders sold their stands underhand in order to obtain desperately-needed money. After the conclusion of peace, the majority were unable to repay the money, and requested the government to enable them to effect transfer to the buyers. Restrictions on transfers were therefore removed and from 1903 buying in Vrededorp was on the open market. Most of the new buyers were former residents of Fordsburg, and of Afrikaner origin. Names such as de Villiers, Graff, Basson, Roux and Smuts abound in the register of stand-owners. English-sounding names were few and far between.⁽⁴¹⁾

The Malay Location, an extension of Vrededorp, was 41 acres in extent and was divided into 279 stands, each 50' x 50'.⁽⁴²⁾ Stands were allotted at a fee of 7s. 6d., with an additional 7s. 6d. for sanitary rates. The rule

(38) U.G. 34-1912, p.95.

(39) Report of the Vrededorp Stands Commission, July 1905, p.vi.

(40) Report of the Vrededorp Stands Commission, July 1905, p.xi.

(41) Standplaatsen Register, Vrededorp, Boek 1.

(42) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Years 8.5.1901-30.6.1903, Annexure.

that stands could be allotted to either Malays or South African Coloureds, but not to Indians was never adhered to and when in 1903 the "Coolie" Location was expropriated, (43) Indians were for the first time openly accepted as standholders. (Their numbers increased steadily, so that by 1933 they held the majority of stands in the location.) In any event, the land that had been intended for a new "Coolie" Location was never in fact occupied as such.

Little attempt was made to enforce racial divisions, and people of different races did not necessarily live in the area set aside for them. For example, most of the standowners registered in the Malay Location bore characteristic Malay names such as Abdoolah Abrahams, U. Mahomet and August Davids. However, amongst these, one finds names such as Peter Stone, Robert Smith and James H. Smith. (44) Thus, out of the total population of 3 376 in the location in June 1904, half were Asiatic, (this includes 70 Chinese), 937 half-castes, 405 white and 252 African. (45)

Adjoining the Malay location, and separated from Vrededorp only by a single street was the "Kaffir" Location. The population was predominantly African and, in a significant number of instances, women were listed as occupants of dwellings. The Location Register abounds with names such as Anna Bokolo, Martha Atshutu, Mina Mock and Lizzie Soldat. (46) Africans tended to sub-let their trading-stands to Chinese and Indians at rents considerably higher than the £2 per month asked by the Municipal Council. (This was reduced to £1 in 1904 to bring the "Kaffir" Location into line with trading-stands in the Malay Location.) Similarly in Vrededorp there were a fair number of British Indian and Asiatic storekeepers. (47)

(43) See p.25.

(44) Standplaatsen Register, Malay Locatien, Boek 1-2.

(45) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1.7.1903-30.6.1904, p.22.

(46) Standplaatsen Register, Kaffir Locatie, Boek 1-2.

(47) Report of the Vrededorp Stands Commission, July 1905, p.9.

Another major settlement area for people of limited means was the Burghersdorp-Brickfields and "Coolie" Location. Here, terminology presented a problem, since reports frequently referred to the entire area under the single name, "Burghersdorp". As far as the confused circumstances allow, an attempt has been made here to draw as accurate a picture as possible.

Burghersdorp-Brickfields originally consisted of a marshy piece of ground upon which plots for brickmaking, and an adjoining residential stand, were granted in 1891. As a result, a small community of poor inhabitants engaged mainly in brickmaking, grew up there. With the subsequent growth of Johannesburg, the area was in demand for residential purposes for poor whites and the government granted the holders of brickmaking licences permission to exchange them for ordinary monthly stand licences at 11s. 3d. for a large, and 7s. 6d. for a small stand, with a ninety-nine year lease.

Burghersdorp consisted of about 10 608 stands, of which about 370 had been built upon.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Streets had subsequently been laid down between the structures. With one or two exceptions, buildings were tin shanties or green-brick sheds. Some were detached, but most were crowded densely together. Rooms were very small. No allowance was made for ventilation and in most cases, there was only an earth floor.

During the war, conditions deteriorated rapidly. Buildings were not repaired, so that many were in a most unsafe condition, while streets were in a filthy condition as a result of slop water. The water supply was derived from a series of open and unlined shallow wells, most of which were situated in private courtyards. Many were used as depositing sites for night soil, dead animals and stable

(48) Council Minutes, 1902, p.468.

manure and were unsuitable for drinking purposes. As a result of such conditions, it is hardly surprising that the general mortality and occurrence of infectious disease within the area was excessive in comparison with the rest of the town. (49)

Within Burghersdorp proper, excluding the Coolie Location, the largest single group of people were the 348 of Dutch origin. This group was followed by that of the 276 Africans, and 145 Cape Coloured. There were also 70 of European origin, 69 British, 67 Indians and 12 Chinese. Burghersdorp thus had a population of 987. (50)

The "Coolie" Location had a population of about 3 000, of whom only about 630 were actually "Coolies". (51) Since the entire "insanitary area" that formed the subject of a commission appointed in 1903, included the greater part of Burghersdorp, the whole of the "Coolie" Location, and a small part of Fordsburg, had a combined population of 5 651, 2 206 of whom were Africans and only 1 001 Dutch, (52) the conclusion can be drawn that Africans were the most significant group of the population of the "Coolie" Location. Many of these Africans were hawkers of fruit and vegetables, or waiters and cooks at white-owned boarding-houses and hotels.

Conditions in the "Coolie" Location were even worse than those in Burghersdorp itself. As the Medical Officer of Health testified before the Insanitary Area Commission:

It consists of narrow courtyards, containing dilapidated and dirty tin huts, without adequate means of lighting and ventilation, huddled on an area and constructed without any regard to sanitary considerations of any kind. In the middle of each slop-sodden and filth-bestrewn yard there is a well from which the people get

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- (49) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the year 1.7.1902-30.6.1903, p.13.
- (50) Council Minutes, 1902, p.469.
- (51) Council Minutes, 1902, p.468.
- (52) Council Minutes, 1902, p.468.

their water supply, and, as in other places they choose this place for washing purposes, urinals and closets in one of the places being in the immediate vicinity. In one case the closet is about one pace from the well. It is crowded as a rabbit warren. I shudder to think what would occur if plague or cholera broke out in that place. These places are dark dens. You cannot see what is going on inside and accordingly, there is every possibility of disease. (53)

Conditions and the nature of the dwellings seem to indicate that by the beginning of the century slum landlords were already at work in Johannesburg. (54) Conditions were so bad that in 1903 the Municipal Council appointed the Insanitary Area Improvement Commission to investigate the situation with a view to suggesting possible solutions.

Besides settling in these central areas of Johannesburg, Africans who were left to find their own quarters often established irregular, unauthorised locations such as Concordia, George Goch and Elandsfontein. These were inhabited by 'contract boys' and not included in the mine compounds. In addition, isolated pockets of Africans were dotted around Johannesburg. For example, about sixty were engaged in washing at the Craighall washing-site some seven to eight miles north of Johannesburg and they lived with their families in primitive huts in the vicinity. (55)

With urbanisation, Johannesburg had thus developed in a haphazard manner. It had a multi-racial character and from this discussion of places of residence and conditions therein, it is evident that at the turn of the century the poorer sections were experiencing difficulty in maintaining an adequate standard of living.

(53) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the year 1.7.1903-30.6.1904, p.16.

(54) See Chapter II, in particular, pp. 43-4.

(55) Council Minutes, 7.1903 - 6.1904, p.23.

VREDEDORP AND VICINITY



- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| A - Cemetery | G - Vrededorp |
| B - Kaffir Location | H - Plein Square |
| B1 - Malay Location | I - End Park and other small plots |
| C - Goods Station | J - Wanderers Ground |
| D - Market Square | K - Diepkloof and Rietfontein |
| E - Municipal Compound | L - Mineral Rights |
| F - Agricultural Showground and Adjoining Land. | |

Minute of the Mayor for the years 8.5.1901-30.6.1903, Annexure 1
Report of the Crown Lands Commission.

CHAPTER 11

PLACES OF RESIDENCE

One of the objectives of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act passed in 1923 was that it would pave the way for the removal of Africans from the mixed residential areas that had grown up in towns such as Johannesburg. Underlying the Act was the idea that in urban areas separate sections should be set aside for Africans.⁽¹⁾ Although no such law had been formally accepted by the Union Government prior to this, Africans had certainly not been able to settle wherever they desired. It is to this point that it is now necessary to turn, that is to the legal and technical aspects of African residence and the conditions in these areas where Africans settled haphazardly.

In terms of the South African Republic's Law of 1885, the government possessed the power ^{to remove} "tot een der inboorling-rassen van Azie, waaronder begrepen zoogenaamde Koelies, Arabieren, Maleijers en Mohamedaansche onderdanen van het Turksche rijk, bepaalde straten, wijken en locaties ter bewoning".⁽²⁾ No special provisor was made for Africans. Similarly the Town Regulations promulgated in 1899 stated only that

Coloured persons may not reside in any place abutting on the public street in any town or village, but every householder or owner of an erf may keep in his backyard whatever servants he requires for domestic service.⁽³⁾

When, in March 1903, the Municipal Council of

(1) See p.131.

(2) Law No. 3 of 1885.

(3) Regulations for towns - Section 39, Volksraad Resolution, Article 1256 of 1899.

Johannesburg accepted the report of the Insanitary Area Improvement Commission that pointed out the necessity for a scheme that would provide for the rearrangement and reconstruction of streets and houses, sanitary considerations were uppermost in the mind of the Municipal Council. The scheme suggested included the subdivision of the "Kaffir" Location into stands, each 20' x 30', so that 22 967 persons could be accommodated. This would result in a density of 283 persons per acre. (4) Similarly, the decision to abolish the "Coolie" Location was taken because the "continued existence of the Location is fraught with the gravest danger to public health". (5)

Following the outbreak of bubonic plague in the "Coolie" Location in March 1904 the Municipal Council removed the entire population from the location and burnt it down. The 1 600 Asiatics and the 1 358 Africans who had been resident in the location were moved to separate camps on the Klipspruit Farm, ten miles from town, where they were housed in tents, semicircular huts and tanks that remained there from the 1899-1902 war. (6) Since no provision was made for the 142 Cape Coloureds who had been resident in the location, they moved into the Malay Location.

As was pointed out in the previous chapter, the Vrededorp-Malay Location area was one that had developed a multi-racial character. Until 1907 a freehold stand in Vrededorp could be bought for £40, and with the promulgation of the Township's Amendment Act in 1908, this was reduced to £15. A condition of the freehold was that Africans and Coloureds were not allowed to occupy stands, except as servants. Nor could the title of

(4) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the year 1.7.1902-30.6.1903, p.14.

(5) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the year 1.7.1903-30.6.1904, p.17.

(6) Council Minutes, 1904, p.265.

any stand be transferred to an Asiatic, Coloured or African. However by 1910 34 Chinese, 31 Indians, 15 Malays and 13 Africans were living amongst whites in Vrededorp. (7) This situation had come about because about 400 whites had deliberately refrained from paying for their stands in order to avoid receiving freehold transfer, because this would have resulted in their losing the income they derived from letting their stands to Asiatics and Africans.

Vrededorp had been intended as a suburb for white working-class people and the Municipal Council was determined to ensure that this expectation was met. It therefore determined to implement the Vrededorp Township Act and declared that after the 8th February 1912 no owner could permit on Asiatic, Coloured or African, other than a servant, to reside on or occupy a stand. Nor could he sub-let to such a person. In the event of owners not complying, magistrates had the right to declare the title of such owners forfeited. As a result of these measures, Vrededorp was soon legally and actually white, and by September 1912 the Star newspaper was able to report that "as far as can be seen, all the parties have complied with the order. There are no longer any Coloured tenants." (8)

Significantly, most of the Asiatics ejected had been traders, occupying a total of about forty-two shops, (9) and their forced removal opened up new opportunities for the largely poor white community of Vrededorp. According to the Report of the Vrededorp Stands Commission in 1905, 75 per cent of the whites

(7) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1909-1911, p.58.

(8) 26.9.1912.

(9) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1909-1911, p.58.

in Vrededorp were poor and their position was further aggravated by the decision not to permit the subletting of stands to Asiatics, Coloureds and Africans. Economic considerations soon overcame all other objections and before long losses were being recouped as landlords began to subdivide parts of their stands into yards specifically for letting to Africans. (10)

Vrededorp thus once again began to develop a multi-racial character. Furthermore the failure of the central authorities to co-operate with the local authorities encouraged Coloured settlement in Vrededorp. The Union Government, for example, built schools for Coloured children in the middle of the supposedly white suburb of Vrededorp, thus encouraging their settlement in the vicinity. (11)

In the case of the Malay Location, it was estimated by the Location Superintendent that at the end of 1905, out of a total population of roughly 4 200, approximately 1 600 were Indians, 1 300 were Cape Coloured, 970 South-African born Malays, 120 Europeans, 100 Somalis, Egyptians or Malagasies, 70 Chinese or Japanese and about 40 Africans. (12) Most of the Indians were involved in trading, and since they sold a large percentage of their goods to Africans, the Municipal Council hoped that with the removal of Africans to Klipspruit, significant numbers of Indians would also migrate. There was no law by which the Municipal Council could compel them to move, and once again one notes that the economic concerns of local commercial interests caused sections of the local white population actively to discourage the development of urban segregation. Since whites supplied Indian traders with the bulk of their goods, they encouraged Indians to remain where they were. As for the Transvaal Government,

(10) Evening Chronicle, 5.4.1913.

(11) Council Minutes, 1913, p.755.

(12) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1.7.1904-30.6.1906, p.62.

it was largely indifferent. In any event, it was anxious not to take any steps which might antagonise the British Liberal Government.

By 1908 few Malays remained in the Malay Location. It was populated largely by people of Eastern, East African, South African and European descent, and was generally regarded as "the worst slum in Johannesburg."⁽¹³⁾ Uncertainty as to its future was the main reason for the location's having sunk into this state. In October 1906 administration of half of the area had been taken over by the railway authorities for utilization "within the next ten years" for railway needs such as goods sidings and stores.⁽¹⁴⁾ A new site was evidently required, since the portion that would remain would be too small to accommodate the entire population of the location. In these circumstances residents hesitated to make improvements to their buildings. The Municipal Council too was hesitant about improving conditions. Following the outbreak of a smallpox epidemic in the location in May 1906 and its rapid spread to Marshalls' Town and City and Suburban, the Municipal Council had instituted an improved house-refuse removal service, and had employed a rat-catcher.⁽¹⁵⁾ However it delayed repairs to the roads that were clearly necessary and the introduction of a water-borne sewage system.

In 1907 the Transvaal Government had made a Crown grant to the Municipal Council of that portion of the Malay Location that remained under municipal administration. By 1911, having realised the complications caused by the existence of a system of dual control, the Transvaal Government surrendered its portion to the Municipal Council, subject to the condition that should the Municipal Council at any future time remove the

(13) Rand Daily Mail, 14.3.1908.

(14) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1.7.1906-30.6.1909, p.53.

(15) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1.7.1906-30.6.1909, p.57.

occupants of the land to another locality, the land would immediately be re-transferred to the government at the expense of the Municipality.⁽¹⁶⁾

The Municipal Council responded immediately. In any event the outbreak of a smallpox plague in January 1912 compelled it to act. A special meeting of the Council-in-Committee, held on the 12th January 1912, adopted resolutions that sewerage reticulation and connections to stand boundaries be proceeded with, that water reticulation be completed, that street lighting be provided, that better roads be constructed, that a daily service for rubbish removal be established and that standholders be compelled to render their buildings rat-proof. It also decided to instal a water-borne sewage system of the type known as the "Coolie Closet".⁽¹⁷⁾

Sewer mains were duly laid and connections to every stand in the location put in. Only about half a dozen houses were actually connected to the sewers, so that slop water continued to run into the streets. Furthermore there was no guttering, and water flowed in a haphazard fashion until absorbed into the ground.⁽¹⁸⁾ Nevertheless, positive steps had at last been taken to improve conditions in the location.

Until 1918, when a Manager, Estates Department, took over, control of the Malay Location was vested in the Superintendent of Locations. The location was governed by the regulations "For Native Locations", "Sub-Regulations voor het Gezondheids Comité de Johannesburg". According to article 4,

every occupier of a stand in the Locations shall have his boundaries marked out, and shall not be permitted to have more than one hut or dwelling thereon, and shall not be permitted to erect any additional hut or dwelling thereon without the consent of the duly authorised officer of the Sanitary Board being first obtained in writing.

(16) Council Minutes, 1911, p.1730.

(17) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1909-1911, p.57.

(18) Rand Daily Mail, 7.7.1912.

Article 5 stated that

any person erecting any hut or building in the locations shall do so subject to the supervision and approval of the Sanitary Board or its duly authorised officer. No hut shall contain a less cubic capacity than 800 cubic feet, and (every hut) shall be provided with proper means of ventilation and lighting, to the approval of the duly authorised officer, and in no case shall less than one-fourth of the area of each stand be left vacant as open-air space.

There is no evidence to suggest that the Medical Officer of Health had, at any time, anything to do with the erection of the new buildings in the location

Overcrowding certainly did exist, and a detailed breakdown of streets, habitations and shops in the area, as well as population figures, provides a fair description of the Malay Location in 1912. (19)

		No. of				
streets	stands	tenements	dwelling in tenements	annexe tenements	rooms in annexe	shops
17	469	503	992	259	454	96
Indians	Malays	Cape	Natives	Other Coloured	White	Total
1275	862	2208	339	683	96	5124

If Nineteenth Street is taken as typical of streets in the location, each plot was occupied by on the average ten people. There were 44 people (240 adults and 104 children) living on the thirty-two stands, each 50' x 50'. (20) In many cases, stables, of which there were 113 in the location, were used as living-rooms. Few dwellings had fireplaces, and punctured paraffin tins or oil drums were used for cooking purposes.

Gambling and illicit liquor dealing were common in the location, as was African prostitution. It was the

(19) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1909-1911, p.57.

(20) The Star, 19.3.1918.

haunt of many undesirable characters, and the police were reluctant to penetrate streets, yards or rooms. When they did enter the location, it was usually to enforce pass regulations. White constables entered the homes of sleeping people, and made them assemble in the Square to have their passes examined. 4.00 a.m. on a Sunday was said to be the favourite time for such inspections.⁽²¹⁾

The Malay Location was the starting-point of the plague epidemic in 1904. It was the starting-point of almost all subsequent smallpox epidemics. The influenza epidemic was particularly severe in the Malay Location.

The Municipal Council did contemplate a building programme, and it set aside £100 000 for improvements. It considered renovating and re-organising the location, building a sportsground, and laying out a park.⁽²²⁾ However, at the same time, it supported a petition signed by 4 000 residents of Braamfontein, Brixton, Burghersdorp, Fordsburg, Mayfair and Vrededorp, that called for the removal of the location as it constituted a danger to health, life and morals.⁽²³⁾ At bottom, the basic problem remained the uncertainty of occupancy.

By the early 1920s the population of the location totalled about 7-8 000, roughly half of whom were Africans.⁽²⁴⁾ 450 of the 469 stands were occupied by dwellings, and the number of rooms totalled 4 119.⁽²⁵⁾ The average number of rooms per stand was thus 9,25, and the average number of people per stand was about 16,8. When it is borne in mind that many stands were occupied by shops, warehouses, stables and sheds, it is evident that overcrowding presented a serious problem.

(21) South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905, vol. 1V, pp. 796 and 853.

(22) Rand Daily Mail, 9.7.1920.

(23) Council Minutes, 1920, p.502,

(24) U.G. 4-1920, p.25.

(25) U.G. 20-1920, p.27.

Furthermore the influx of Africans ejected from other parts of town aggravated the situation.

Matters were allowed to drift and the only decision adopted was that in 1920 it was decided that until such time as the future of the location had been decided, all applications to erect buildings would be refused. Thus no African community was able to develop and thrive in the Malay Location.

The next area to be investigated, Sophiatown, presents a stark contrast. It too developed a multi-racial character, but whereas in Vrededorp determined attempts were made to establish a white community, in Sophiatown and neighbouring Martindale, development was in the opposite direction.

In 1897 H. Tobiansky had begun to buy portions of a township site about four and a half miles west of the centre of Johannesburg, and he had named this township "Sophiatown", after his wife "Sophia".⁽²⁶⁾ He had offered the land to the government of the South African Republic so that a Coloured location could be established there, and in 1899 he had given the government on lease part of the farm "Waterval 79". In 1903 this lease was cancelled and the land then reverted to Tobiansky. On the 20th July 1903 and again on the 24th July, he bought blocks of adjoining land, and subsequently began to plan the areas as a single private leasehold township.⁽²⁷⁾

The area of the township was about 237 acres, and this was divided into 1 694 stands, 50' x 50' or 50' x 100'.⁽²⁸⁾ A number of the streets were named after Tobiansky's children - Edith, Gerty, Bertha, Sol.⁽²⁹⁾ The township was covered with veld and rock, and, after the Municipal Council had refused to approve plans for

(26) U.G. 10-1958, section 43, name changed to Triomf.

(27) Survey of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, 1950, p.23.

(28) T12/4/2, L-1,-3, vol.1, Draft for Works Report, 30.9.1904.

(29) T.Huddleston: Nought for Your Comfort, p.118.

the township unless plots for open spaces were provided, two and a half acres were set aside for parks.⁽³⁰⁾ This was particularly important since the size of the stands indicated that the township would be occupied by people of limited means, whose children would be largely dependent on the resources of the township for their means of recreation.

By 1904 Tobiansky was selling stands at prices ranging from £25 to £30.⁽³¹⁾ Tobiansky had bought portions of the township site from different people, and the titles in the servitude attached to them differed. The deeds of transfer expressly stated that the owner of the land Tobiansky had bought in 1899, as well as that bought by him on the 24th July 1903, "shall not have the right to use it as a location for coloured persons, nor have the right to sell or hire this portion or any part thereof to coloured persons."⁽³²⁾

Over the years these restrictions were gradually cancelled by notarial agreement, so that fewer and fewer areas were restricted against Coloured occupancy.

Africans who acquired land in Sophiatown did not buy directly from Tobiansky's township company, but usually by auction from individual standholders who, in effect, acted as agents buying from the township company. In fact, not only in Sophiatown, but in any township where the title deeds did not specifically state something to the contrary, an African was, in terms of a Law Department opinion of March 1906, permitted to purchase a plot, and have it registered in trust for him in the name of the Commissioner for Native Affairs.⁽³³⁾ This did not automatically give him the right to live on his plot.

(30) T12/4/2, L-19-3, vol.1, Report for Works Committee, 14.11.1904.

(31) U.G. 34-1912, p.93.

(32) Freehold Transfer, 1905, No.827/1905.

(33) NA 402, 126/1907, Commissioner of Native Affairs - Colonial Secretary, 14.1.1907.

By 1906 about ten Africans had taken up residence in Sophiatown. A number of others had bought stands there, and three had already completed their instalments, although they had not yet obtained transfers.⁽³⁴⁾ When African standowners in Sophiatown were given notice to move to the location at Klipspruit,⁽³⁵⁾ they were legally bound to comply, since the relevant bye-law stated:

From and after a date to be hereafter fixed by resolution of the Council, every native dwelling or remaining within the limits of the Municipality, with the exception of such natives as may reside on the premises of their European employers, shall be required to reside in a Location, and after the due date every native hereby required to live in a Location, who shall be found residing elsewhere within the Municipality, shall be guilty of a breach of these bye-laws. ⁽³⁶⁾

Africans took no notice of the circulars issued by the Municipal Council, because, at the same time, the Council was passing plans for Africans to erect houses in Sophiatown, knowing full well that they would reside in them.

Therefore in 1907 white standholders took matters into their own hands. They formed a Vigilance Committee and brought charges against Africans who would not leave. Magistrates eventually refused to try such cases because they took up too much of the Court's time. White standholders therefore appealed to the Minister of Justice and the Town Clerk. Although they received promises that the matter would be attended to immediately, nothing was done. White standholders thus felt obliged to adopt a new tactic. They began to purchase vacant stands that adjoined those on which their homes were built, thereby keeping Africans and Coloureds from too close proximity.⁽³⁷⁾

(34) NA 402, 126/1907, Secretary for Native Affairs - Native Commissioner, Central Division, 24.4.1906.

(35) See p. 62.

(36) Transvaal : Government Gazette, 22.1.1904, p. 102.

(37) The Star, 2.11.1912.

The Municipal Council had meanwhile decided that the western end of Johannesburg was a suitable area for a municipal depositing site. As a result Sophiatown ceased to be attractive to whites. While its total rateable value decreased from £44 680 in the period 1907-1909, to £38 656 in the period 1910-1912,⁽³⁸⁾ actual prices paid showed a far more marked decrease.

Following a Supreme Court ruling that it is a fundamental right of ownership of property that the owner can reside on his property,⁽³⁹⁾ Tobiansky turned to selling stands in freehold directly to Africans. Thus, for example, Eileen Mrara, an African widow who had bought a plot for £22.10.0 on the 30th September, 1910, was able to receive transfer on the 29th March, 1912.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Hostile racial attitudes came to the fore and after the township company had made it clear that it would not buy out the seventy white standholders in Sophiatown, they attempted to sell their stands to Africans and Coloureds.⁽⁴¹⁾ Few proved enthusiastic, and many of those who did buy stands subsequently failed to build on their stands. The major cause of this situation was the fact that the nearest tram terminus, that at Brixton, was one and a half miles from Sophiatown, and the Municipal Council failed to provide a more suitable link with the centres of employment.

Thus although Africans could own homes in Sophiatown, it was not sufficiently attractive to them, and they were in no hurry to purchase the remaining stands there. In any event, probably because Africans and Coloureds had

(38) Valuation Rolls of the Municipality of Johannesburg.

(39) The Star, 9.3.1912.

(40) Freehold Transfer, 1912, 29.3.1912.

(41) The Star, 7.10.1912.

little choice, prices of stands in Sophiatown were from two to five times those asked for in neighbouring townships occupied by whites.

Tobiansky offered the 5-600 stands that he still held to the Municipality, at £20 each, as opposed to the previously-asked for price of £30 cash or £36 on terms.⁽⁴²⁾ But the Municipality did not favour the area as a location for Africans and Sophiatown was thus left to develop a character of its own as a township for Africans and Coloureds.

The adjoining township of Martindale was a private leasehold township and, like Sophiatown, it was owned by H. Tobiansky. It was 48,6 acres in area, divided into 332 stands. From 1905 these were sold at prices ranging from £25 to £60⁽⁴³⁾ As in the case of Sophiatown, it was probably the situation of the municipal depositing site that accounted for its lack of popularity among whites. The fact that right from the beginning there were no restrictions against Coloured and African occupation no doubt played a significant part. Its history thus follows very closely that of Sophiatown. Its total rateable value also showed a decline from £10 390 to £9 965, from the period 1907-1909 to that of 1910-1912.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Actual values declined even more and it is interesting to note that although there were only eleven white families resident in Martindale in 1917, most of the stands and houses were owned by whites.⁽⁴⁵⁾

A third township that was opened up to African settlement was Newclare, situated like Sophiatown and Martindale on the farm "Waterval". George Henry Goch bought the land, 154 acres, in 1905 from Hendrik Abraham

(42) Sites for Native Locations, Stakesby-Lewis - Town Clerk, 24.8.1915.

(43) Survey of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, 1950, p.23.

(44) Valuation Rolls of the Municipality of Johannesburg.

(45) The Star, 18.4.1917.

Alberts for £8 400.⁽⁴⁶⁾ He immediately applied to the Municipal Council for approval of this land as a township divided into 100' x 50' stands. By the beginning of 1908, his plans had not yet been approved, since the Municipal Council insisted that with plots of the size proposed, 3 per cent of the township land, rather than the 2 per cent Goch proposed, should be set aside for open spaces.⁽⁴⁷⁾

In the middle of 1908, when Goch agreed to this, the Town Engineer opposed the scheme, pointing out that 2-3 000 stands in the neighbouring townships of Sophiatown, Martindale, Albertville and Newlands were unsold, as were many others in Claremont and Waterval Estate.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The site itself was occupied by a fairly large number of Coloured people living in galvanised iron buildings, and engaged mainly in clothes-washing. Goch therefore began to urge that his proposed township be approved for exclusive Coloured occupation, and he suggested that a scheme for washing should be introduced in an attempt to encourage residence in the township.

While Smuts as Minister of Mines favoured the plan, the Municipal Council opposed it, and expressed the opinion:

In view of objections raised by owners and occupiers that it is not in the interests of a town that a private owner should be the landlord, Council does not consider New Clare, or any ground similarly adjacent to a white township, suitable as a township for coloured people.⁽⁴⁹⁾

In any event the Municipal Council, in an attempt to increase its control over Africans, was in the process of applying for extended powers to enable it to close all washing sites in the municipal area, other than its

(46) Freehold Transfer, 1905, No. 1526/1905.

(47) T12/4/2, L-14-2, vol.1, G.H.Goch - Town Engineer, 22.7.1905.

(48) T12/4/2, L-14-2, vol.1, Memorandum re Proposed Township of "New Clare", 21.5.1908.

(49) Council Minutes, 20.1.1919, p.15.

own one at Klipspruit.

In 1910 when Goch again raised the question of establishing a township for Coloured persons on his land, the Minister of Mines again gave his approval, and the Municipal Council again voiced its disapproval. Once more one notes that racial attitudes were a far more significant factor at a local level than at the national level. On this occasion, however, the Minister refused to bow to pressure and in November 1912 Goch's application was approved.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Goch, the township owner, was the only white allowed to reside or buy land in Newclare. This was the only instance where such a condition was incorporated in the township deeds, but whereas when people other than whites were excluded, the relevant clauses remained unaltered, in this instance the restrictive clause was subsequently deleted.⁽⁵¹⁾ Furthermore, ownership was transferred to the Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Co. Ltd., which apparently began to build "tenements" that were rented to Africans.⁽⁵²⁾

Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare were unique in that nowhere else in the municipal area of Johannesburg could Africans buy land. They were excluded from owning land or living in suburbs proclaimed under the Gold Law, and, although there was no official prohibition in those proclaimed since, the deeds of townships contained restrictive clauses. For example, Africans could not buy land in Orange Grove because of the condition in the title deeds that expressly stated :

No Coolie, Indian, Asiatic, Native, or any other coloured person or persons may be located on any of the lot or lots in this Township, unless he or she is in the bona fide employ of the Transferee for domestic

(50) Rand Daily Mail, 2.11.1912.

(51) T12/4/2, L-14-2, New Clare, Memorandum relative to conditions of lots in New Clare, to take the place of clauses 7 and 8 of the statement of conditions previously approved.

(52) A. Proctor : Urban Class Conflict and the History of Three Johannesburg Suburbs - Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare, 1905-40, p.29.

or menial purposes, nor may any lot or lots be sold, transferred, or leased to any Arab, Malay, Chinaman, Coolie, Indian, Kaffir or business of any kind there. (53)

Similarly, the title deeds of Bezuidenhout Valley stated that "no coloured people other than servants will be allowed to occupy the said plot." (54)

Although Alexandra Township is situated about eight miles north-east of the centre of Johannesburg, just beyond the municipal area, for the reasons that, first, it is so much a part of Johannesburg, and secondly that it represents, perhaps, the one relatively successful example of the relatively uncontrolled and voluntary development of an African community, it is included in this discussion.

Alexandra Township was laid out in 1905 on a portion of the farm, "Cyferfontein No. 2." Its area, 888 acres, was divided into 338 lots, two parks and a square. Finding little demand for lots on the part of whites, probably because of the distance from town, the Alexandra Township Company decided in 1912 that the

property shall not be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of excepting to a native or person of colour, provided that an Asiatic shall not be included in the terms "Native or People of Colour". (55)

Once lots were no longer intended for white occupation, they were sub-divided, so that by 1916 there were 2 185 lots of 140' x 80', and 340 lots of 140' x 50'. (56)

These lots were sold on an instalment system that provided for a preliminary payment of £2, and subsequent payments of £1 per month, transfer being given after all instalments had been paid. Although by 1922 1 300 lots had been sold in this manner, fewer than half,

(53) Freehold Transfer, 1905, No. 1599/1905.

(54) Freehold Transfer, 1905, No. 328/1905.

(55) Registrar of Deeds, Pretoria, Alexandra.

(56) T.P. 1-1937, Part III, pp.24-25.

427, had actually been paid for in full and transferred to their respective purchasers.⁽⁵⁷⁾

This indicates that, although an African community developed in Alexandra Township, its relative popularity stemmed from lack of choice, rather than from any general desire to reside there. Particularly significant from a growth point of view was the fact that, despite the passing of the Native Land Act in 1913, it was lawful for Africans to continue to acquire land in Alexandra, since section 8(1) stated:

Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed as ... 1) prohibiting the acquisition by natives from any person whatever of land or interests in land in any township lawfully established prior to the commencement of this Act, provided it is a condition of the acquisition that no land or interest in land in such township has at any time been, or shall in future be, transferred except to a Native or Coloured person.

Besides those in the townships, Africans also formed communities at the irregular, unauthorised locations that thrived despite municipal attempts to close them by enforcing the Squatter Law. In 1907, for example, the owner of the farm, "Elandsfontein", near the Kosherville Depositing Site, was notified of the terms of this law, and notices were simultaneously served on each individual African in the location giving him one month's notice to quit.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Such attempts were largely unsuccessful, and particularly after April 1906, the month by which Africans were supposed to move to Klipspruit Location, the numbers choosing to reside in such locations increased decisively. Unfortunately it has not been possible to ascertain the number of Africans living in these locations.

By the early 1920s, there were 1 457 Africans,

(57) Sites for Native Locations, Extract from Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 19.6.1922.

(58) Council Minutes, 1907, p.771.

roughly half the population, in Sophiatown and Martindale, while about two-thirds, 1 185, of those resident in Newclare were Africans.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In addition to the 3 500 Africans in Alexandra, there were another about 10 000 for whom no government "aid" was given towards finding a place for residence. Many of these were provided with accommodation by their employers, since any private owner, so long as he could prove that the Africans were in his employment, could purchase a stand, erect a compound and house as many Africans as he wished there. Most factories, stores and warehouses thus had compounds attached to them. Often these were of a purely temporary nature. For example, when a reservoir was being built in Yecville in the early 1920s, the contractor bought two stands, and built a location for his 200 African employees on them.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Some employers hired rooms, and as long as the occupant or occupants were able to produce receipts in the name of an employer, the only circumstance in which the Municipal Council could interfere was if such rooms were in an insanitary condition.

Two other bye-laws affected the residence of Africans in town. The Public Health Bye-Laws⁽⁶¹⁾ stated:

Any person who, without permission in writing from the Council, establishes or maintains a compound or other place for the housing of natives or coloured persons not being domestic or household servants, shall be liable to penalty,

1.

The Council, if satisfied as to the position and suitability of any premises proposed to be used for the housing of any natives, not being domestic or household servants, as to

(59) U.G. 7-1934, p.107.

(60) S.C. 3-1923, p.12.

(61) Public Health Bye-Laws, Chapter II, articles 38 and 39.

the efficiency of the control proposed to be exercised over such natives, may be granted permission in writing, under the hand of a duly authorised official, for the establishment or maintenance of a compound or other place for the housing of such natives on such premises, and such permission shall remain in force for such time only, not being more than twelve months, as the Council may specify therein, and every such permission shall expire not later than the 31st day of December in the year for which it is granted.

At no time did the Municipal Council seek to exercise this power, since such an open permit would have enabled the holder to harbour undesirable people and made it very difficult for the police to intervene. Instead a system developed whereby personal permits were issued to individual Africans who could not be housed on the premises of their employers, to live in approved dwellings in town. An employer had to produce satisfactory evidence that it was essential for the proper conduct of his business that Africans employed by him were at work before 7.00 a.m. and after 6.00 p.m., thus precluding them from residing in Klipspruit Location. The District Sanitary Inspector then had to satisfy himself that the proposed quarters were adequate and that white residents living in the neighbourhood had no well-founded objections. The Police had also to be consulted and only after they had voiced approval would the Medical Officer of Health grant a permit.⁽⁶²⁾ Such premises were legally the employer's and rent was paid in his name. This was a system that operated very much to the disadvantage of the African worker, since landlords demanded rent in advance, yet the tenant was not allowed to occupy the room until a permit had been granted and the procedure involved in obtaining one took at least a week.

Under this system it was not uncommon for people whose wages were £4 - £6 per month to pay £3-£4 for a room in which to reside. Since any police objection resulted in the immediate cancellation of a permit, fear

(62) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1913-1914, pp.38-39.

of police intervention effectively ensured that there were few complaints against landlords. In an attempt to meet rents, illicit liquor dealing and crime were frequently resorted to, and it was also the inability to pay the rents demanded that resulted in overcrowding with its resultant dangers of tuberculosis, smallpox and other contagious diseases. This, in turn, provided the Municipal Council with the grounds it needed to introduce urban segregation under the guise of clearing slum areas.

The word "slum" is a catchphrase for poor housing of every kind, as well as a label for the environment. Because of its inclusiveness, the word too often obscures vast differences between one type of slum and another. Slums may be either rented or owner-occupied, either legal or illegal. They include cabins, shanties, dens, dugouts, sheds, stalls, and other manifestations of poverty. Some are single-family shelters converted into several smaller compartments; some are one-storey and others six-storey tenements. Some slums are new. Others are abandoned houses of those who have moved up the economic scale. They exist because adequate housing at a cost that workers can afford has not been provided. (63)

What generally happened in Johannesburg was that a white would buy or rent a piece of vacant ground on which he would construct rough shanties. These would be let at rentals out of all proportion to capital outlay. "Rooms", which were merely subdivisions of old sheds, stores and workshops, were similarly let. Another practice in vogue was for the occupant of one house in a street to turn his outbuildings into "rooms", and let these to coloured tenants. His neighbours frequently objected and moved out. Such houses were difficult to sell, and after they had stood empty for some time, African or Coloured families would be accepted as tenants. Ferreira, for example, was initially a fashionable suburb.

(63) Charles Abrams : Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World, p.4.

Rents had rocketed to such a height that tenants could not be found and buildings deteriorated. When such buildings came on to the market, buyers took the opportunity, and placed the property in the hands of an agent, who, in turn, instructed a caretaker to get as much rent as possible. The identity of the tenants was irrelevant, so long as the weekly rent was paid, and in time the whole neighbourhood became a slum. In Ferreira alone, in 1916, £50 000 worth of property was let in this way to Africans. (64)

Significantly such properties did not necessarily depreciate in value, since more Africans than whites could be crowded on to a stand. Therefore more rent could be squeezed from one stand than if it were occupied by whites. There was no alternative to paying the rent, because if one slept outside, there was the danger of being fined as a vagrant.

These conditions developed particularly in Fordsburg, Ferreira, Marshallstown, City and Suburban, Old and New Doornfontein, Jeppes, Ophinton and Prospect Township. It must be pointed out, however, that a shortage of housing and overcrowding was not peculiar to Africans in Johannesburg. In 1920 the Medical Officer of Health estimated that there was a shortage of 1 600 houses of the smaller type, for people such as clerks, artisans and unskilled workers. (65)

This situation had arisen because during the previous few years there had not been much housebuilding. Labour for building had been extremely scarce, particularly because of the decrease in the number of artisans trained as a result of the war. Many apprentices had broken their contracts to enlist, and, on their return, they

(64) The Star, 13.1.1916.

(65) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the year 1.7.1919-30.6.1920, p.32.

were refused permission to continue their apprenticeships, on the grounds that they were over the age stipulated. The cost of materials had rocketed, because practically all timber, ironmongery and fittings employed in houses had to be imported from Europe and America. Costs had therefore increased enormously and the rents that could be charged did not justify the capital outlay.

Furthermore, many in the lower income bracket had been left homeless, because their premises had been declared unsuitable for human habitation. Most of the dwellings built in the early stages of development were of materials such as wood and iron, and these had deteriorated within a few years. A third factor accounting for the shortage of white housing was that with the development of Johannesburg, a considerable number of small dwellings and buildings with many rooms had been demolished and replaced by warehouses and factories. Fourthly, the Municipal Council had no powers to provide housing for whites. Finally, the situation was aggravated by the numbers of Africans who were moving, in increasing numbers, into what could be claimed were white residential quarters.

It was Africans who formed the bulk of the inhabitants of the slums of Johannesburg.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Increasing numbers of Africans, particularly families, were unable to reside in municipally-provided accommodation, and were being left to fend for themselves. As the Report of the Housing Sub-Committee of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives pointed out, "It is impossible to estimate the numbers of the permanent native population, but there is reason to believe that it is very considerable."⁽⁶⁷⁾ In the Potchefstroom

(66) Report of the Housing Sub-Committee, p.5.

(67) P.5.

Location, for example, it was found in 1906, that of the 208 stands granted by the Volksraad in 1888, 151 were still held by the original allottees or their personal representatives.⁽⁶⁸⁾ One can perhaps assume that a similar 72,6 per cent of the Africans in Johannesburg were, fifteen to twenty years after the establishment of a location, permanent urban dwellers.

For most of these Africans living in town, home was usually a single room, about 12' x 12'. Men and women, adults and children, all slept in the one room. Sometimes, over twenty families occupied a single yard. Since all the washing and much of the cooking was done in the yard, standards of cleanliness left much to be desired, particularly since, as the cleanliness of the yard was the concern of all, no one was particularly concerned about it.

As a rule, sanitary conditions were very bad. There was rarely more than one toilet per yard, and this was frequently out of order. Receptacles for rubbish were the exception, and rubbish was rarely removed. Ventilation was most inadequate and vermin was a constant problem.

Structures varied from brick buildings, usually old and dilapidated, to shanties of wood and iron. Most leaked. Few had stoves and water usually had to be fetched from outside. The average rent was 30s. per month, but any slight advantage or improvement resulted in an increase in rent. For example, if the frontage of a room, 18' x 12', was on the street, and was occupied as both a workroom and a livingroom for, say, a tailor, the rent was increased to 50s.

Conditions were certainly appalling. In the

(68) U.G. 4-1920, p.21, and see p.155.

period 1919-1920, the infant mortality rate was 81,44 per 1000 births for Whites. For Africans, it was 355,81 per 1 000, over one in three. (69)

Despite these conditions, Africans had no security of tenure and no protection against eviction. They were completely at the mercy of landlords as far as being given notice was concerned. (70)

The tour undertaken by the Rev. William Meara, President of the Witwatersrand Church Council, a C.I.D. official, and W.E.S. Lewis, a nominee for election to the Municipal Council, provides a most striking description of conditions in the slum areas. The walk was undertaken on the 4th November 1917, and, starting at 10.00 a.m., it took two and a half hours. (71)

The first place visited was Marshall Street. Here on a 50 by 10 feet stand were 20 rooms, roughly 2½ by 9 feet, each occupied by Kaffirs and Syrians. The rooms are in a backyard, with a 20 feet alley between. Two of these rooms each contained three families. These rooms are let at 25s. per month each. Another slum in the same street was next visited. Here the 16 rooms in the yard were built of old iron, full of holes, yet let at 12s. per month. The buildings undoubtedly were old stables which had been unfit for housing horses, but were considered good enough to accommodate human beings, in some cases two families per room of 10 by 8 feet. On the front of this property on the ground floor were old shops and on the first floor were rooms 10 by 8 each let at a rental varying from £1 to £1.10s. per month. In one room 7 by 7 feet were found a husband and wife and the husband's sister. The filth on the landing and in the corridors was indescribable. This property was occupied by kaffirs.

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- (69) In Cape Town, in the corresponding period, the white infantile mortality rate was practically identical, 81,64. For Africans, it was 183,89, about half that of Johannesburg.
- (70) Report of the Housing Sub-Committee, pp.6-7.
- (71) The Star, 5.11.1917.

The next visit was to Alexander Street. Here in a tiny backyard about 10 by 50 feet were found three rooms let at £2. per month each. One room was occupied by a husband, wife and two children. In another yard were twelve rooms mostly 8 by 12 feet let at from 25s. to 30s. per month, one room being occupied by a husband, wife and five children. The buildings were evidently old stables built of iron. Some of the floors in the rooms were below the level of the yard and one seen was very wet. The E.C.* stood in the middle of the yard and was filthy in the extreme. The fourth visit was paid in Marshall Street to 21 rooms built of brick and let at 25s. to 30s. per month each. These rooms were better than the places previously seen, but that carries no recommendation. These rooms were occupied by Syrians and Kaffirs. Two families with five children were found in one room. Another portion of this property consisted of old shops, the broken windows being patched up with wood or tin, excluding both air and light.

Alexander Street was next re-visited, a double-storey building being inspected. Indians, natives and Cape boys were crowded together in rooms let at 20s. per month. The place was unspeakably filthy. Another property in Alexander Street consisted of seven rooms on the ground floor and 13 on the first floor, the latter 10 by 10 feet, let at £1. per month.

A building on the tramline to Fordsburg was next visited, here Whites and coloured dwell together. A family of eight whites were found living in a twelve by sixteen room divided into two and a small kitchen. On the first floor in this building there are rooms 10 by 10 feet let to natives at £1. per month. In one room, a man, his wife, his sister, and three children were found in something under 400 cubic feet of airspace, in which they live, eat and sleep. A visit to another street showed the usual evil conditions. Milk waggons were reported to be kept in the yard and one such was seen. How plentifully these are inhabited by germs to be distributed with the morning milk cannot be said. Another building in Market Street consisted of 16 rooms on the ground floor and 16 on the first floor, the latter being occupied by whites, and the former by two whites and by natives. In Park Lane buildings with a yard hardly large enough to swing a cat in are still being added to. How do the owners of such properties get permission to extend these buildings, still further reducing an almost irreducible minimum of air space?

* E.C. = earth closet

Main Road, Fordsburg, contains a back-yard in which are some four rooms in one of which, 18 by 9 feet, are accommodated two girls, a man and wife and three children at a cost of £1. per month, the accommodation being less and inferior to that provided for six horses in the same small yard. All the buildings are of iron and where glass in the windows is wanting, the lack is supplied by pieces of tin nailed over, reducing the all too insufficient means of ventilation. In Lovers' Walk, Fordsburg, will be found a building well known to the police. The buildings face two courts and consist of 14 rooms on each court let to whites, Cape boys and natives at £1. 5s per month. Nurse / Road, Fordsburg, has a building in old iron consisting of 15 rooms each 10 by 8 feet, and one green brick building, all in a disgraceful state yet let at 15s. per month. The stables in the property are apparently without drainage. A fairly large forage shed is evidently occupied by natives at night, no doubt bringing in an income to the owner, but denounced to the police as a den of illicit liquor selling. In the same street is a building occupied by Portuguese, Dutch, Syrian and Cape boys, two small rooms and a kitchen being let at £2. per month. Here all shades from white to full blooded black may be seen.

Near the western end a city street in which warehouses of our large merchants are found may also be seen the filthiest slum in Johannesburg. The entrance alley was awful, garbage of all description being about and a stream of filthy water running from the yard to the street. The abominable place is occupied by coolies and Kaffirs in 12 rooms mostly 10 by 10 built in wood and iron on a 50 by 100 stand. In one room 10 by 10 feet were found a Kaffir, his two wives, two children, £1. 7s. 6d. per month being the price of this happy home. In another room measuring about 6 feet square a native pays 15s. per month for his home and that of his wife and child. On the same property is another building consisting of 15 rooms occupied by coolies at 15s. per month. In many cases the floors of the room are below the level of the yard which was a miniature lake. There are also larger rooms in one of which seven beds were counted. In the front of some of the coolies rooms fruit was seen packed, evidently for the next days street hawking.

There is an innocent looking gateway almost within hail of a central city cab rank and in the midst of many commercial buildings. Inside

that gateway were unspeakable hovels whose foetid atmosphere caused physical nausea and yet they are let to natives at rentals ranging from £1.5s. to £1.15s. per month. In Market Street in a backyard - a veritable sea of mud - were found 30 rooms 7 by 12 feet thickly peopled by Kaffirs who pay £1. to £1.10s. per month per room.

In Doornfontein, an outer yard containing 21 wood and iron rooms was found let to coolies, natives and half castes at 10s. per month. In the inner yard were 20 rooms let to coolies and natives at 35s. per month.... These properties are hotbeds of illicit liquor selling, prostitution and every kind of vice. Illegitimate children are numerous, and of the most mixed description owing to the intermingling of all shades of colour with poor whites. Venereal disease is being propagated in these places and household servants visit these hovels and carry infection. The dimensions given were estimated not measured.

Once the Medical Officer of Health had issued a permit, the police were relatively powerless to take action against such conditions. For example, when, on the 27th August, 1910, police carried out a raid on all rooms where Africans were suspected of residing without permits, they were able to make only six arrests, and they only managed to obtain four convictions.⁽⁷²⁾ The other two were discharged, because the Magistrate was not sure whether or not they were "natives". This problem frequently arose because section 4 of the Johannesburg Municipal Ordinance, No. 11 (Private) of 1906, defined the term "Native" to include "any person belonging to any of the aboriginal races or tribes of Africa south of the Equator, and any person one of whose parents belongs to any such race or tribe as aforesaid". In the Council's Bye-laws for Native Locations, however, the term "native" was defined as "any person both of whose parents belong to any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa". If they were not Africans, the Municipal Council had no right to regulate their places of residence.

Yet, when there were complaints about conditions in

(72) JUS C.F. 3/73/10 re Petition Ophirton Ratepayers Vigilance Association.

yards, the public health authorities claimed that it was not for them to act but for the police. For example, both Ophirton and Prospect Township were sandwiched in between the mines. Africans lived on premises let to them by white landlords and made use of their premises for illicit liquor dealing and wild parties.⁽⁷³⁾ Since such Africans were legally entitled to be there, the police were powerless to attack the situation at its root, by removing residents from the yards.

Of particular significance was the case *Rex v. Fleischman*.⁽⁷⁴⁾ In 1914 Fleischman was accused of owning property in Ferreira, and letting rooms to Africans not in his employ. On 10th December 1914, ten Africans employed on the Ferreira Gold Mine were found residing in the yard of Fleischman's home in Ferreira. They produced receipts proving that they had paid him rent, whereupon Fleischman was sentenced to a fine of 20s. or four days imprisonment with hard labour, for having harboured Africans not in his lawful employ.

The case hinged around the meaning of the word "harbour" because, in terms of the General Pass Regulations, it was not lawful for any person within any labour district, "to harbour any native who is not in his lawful employ".⁽⁷⁵⁾ Fleischman subsequently appealed against the verdict on the grounds that, with the abolition in 1908 of the Native High Court that had had exclusive jurisdiction to try cases relating to pass laws, magistrates had no right to try the case. This appeal however, was dismissed by Judge President J.P. De Villiers.

Following this decision of the Supreme Court, it was clearly illegal to let rooms or houses within Johannesburg to Africans not in one's employ. The enforcement of this requirement would have resulted in hundreds of Africans being evicted from their places of residence,

(73) T.P. 3-1915, p.46.

(74) The South African Law Reports, Transvaal Provincial Division, 1915, pp. 47-53.

(75) Proclamation 18 of 1903, section 38(c).

and since there was no alternative accommodation for these people, the Municipal Council was compelled to grant an ever-increasing number of permits to allow Africans to reside in town. By 1916, some 10 000 such permits had been granted. (76)

This policy presented no long term solution to the problem of accommodation for Africans in town. It simply led to further overcrowding and exploitation, and still left those Africans searching for employment unprovided for.

Thus initial attempts to establish African communities in the central parts of Johannesburg, in areas such as Vrededorp and the Malay Location, were unsuccessful. In the suburbs, in Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare and Alexandra, African communities were able to develop of their own accord. Apart from these areas, Africans were technically supposed to reside in town only when the nature of their employment demanded it. As a result the system of granting permits had been introduced, but this had only led to slum conditions in many sections of Johannesburg, and it was thus necessary to provide alternative places where Africans could reside.

(76) Council Minutes, 1916, p.469.



CHAPTER III

THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL AND THE PROVISION OF HOUSING FOR
AFRICANS

Prior to Union in 1910, the control and administration of matters affecting Africans in urban areas was vested in the local authority that had jurisdiction over the area, in this instance, the Municipal Council of Johannesburg. It exercised its functions through municipal bye-laws, subject before promulgation to the central authorities. All activities of the Council were conducted in terms of a written code of laws and when disputes arose between the local and the central authorities as to the legality of specific acts, the law court was the decision-making body.

In terms of the Municipal Corporation Ordinance of 1903,⁽¹⁾ the Municipal Council of Johannesburg was authorised to lay out locations for Africans, and the rules and regulations governing such locations were approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, ~~Walter Hely Hutchinson~~ *Walter Hely Hutchinson*, in January 1904.⁽²⁾ A "location" was defined as "an area set apart for the exclusive occupation of natives not living on the premises of their employers, and defined as such by a resolution of the Council". Not only did the Municipal Council have the right to establish such locations either within or beyond municipal boundaries, but it also had the right to abolish them. Particularly important for the future residence of Africans was the clause stating:

From and after a date to be hereafter fixed by resolution of the Council, every native dwelling or remaining within the limits of the Municipality, with the exception of such natives as may reside

(1) Transvaal Ordinance No. 58 of 1903.

(2) Government Gazette, 22.1.1904, Government Notice No. 60 of 1904.

on the premises of their European employers, shall be required to reside in a Location, and after the said date every native hereby required to live in a Location, who shall be found residing elsewhere within the Municipality, shall be guilty of a breach of these Bye-Laws. (3)

In September 1904 sanitary considerations led the Municipal Council to adopt a resolution to shift the "Kaffir" Location to Klipspruit Farm. This farm had been purchased from Messrs. Emile Erlanger and Co. and George Pauling, in order to provide a refuse disposal area, a location for Africans and a bazaar for Asiatics. (4) The location was intended to be of a sufficient size to accommodate some 10 000 e. (5) 4 585 of these (2 714 male, 1 131 female and 1 280 children) were at the time residing in the "Kaffir" Location. In its intention also to provide accommodation in the location for the 2 607 Africans who "have hitherto been suffered to reside in the numerous private locations within the Municipal area", the Municipal Council revealed that its action was motivated not merely by health considerations. That a racial approach played its part is further revealed by the decision of the Municipal Council to move all Africans residing in town, with the exception of those on the premises of their employers, to the proposed location at Klipspruit. Since women and children as well as male workers were to be accommodated in the location, the Municipal Council in effect accepted the presence in Johannesburg of a permanent urban African population. This attitude is further revealed by its decision to grant those Africans who so desired the necessary facilities to build their own houses. (6)

(3) Bye-Laws for Native Locations, clause 3.

(4) Anna H. Smith : Johannesburg Street Names, p.278.

(5) Council Minutes, 1904, vol.I, pp.866-867.

(6) Council Minutes, 1904, vol.I, p.868.

The location was also to provide accommodation for 5 000 Asiatics, while the 429 licensed washboys in the town were to be moved to Klipspruit. (7) Since Klipspruit was ten miles from the centre of Johannesburg, the effect on the trades and occupations of Africans would obviously be disastrous. The determination of the Municipal Council nevertheless to separate Africans from other members of the community of Johannesburg is clearly revealed in its response to the request for permission to be allowed to reside in Vrededorp, or on the outskirts of the town, from one Robert, a self-employed African who relied for his livelihood on his two horses and two scotch-carts. In response to his request, the Town Clerk replied bluntly, "It is not the intention to allow Native tradesmen to reside in Vrededorp or in the outskirts of the town, after the removal of the location to Klipspruit." (8)

By October 1904 the choice of Klipspruit Farm as a site for a location had been confirmed. The location itself was to be built about a mile from the station at Nancefield, and a site for 200 washboys was to be laid out about another half a mile further on. In addition it was planned to construct a reservoir that would be able to hold 180 000 gallons of water.

The response of the colonial administration to the proposed scheme, and the counter-arguments put forward by the Municipal Council, clearly reveal their divergent attitudes and interests. In a memorandum (9) to W. Windham, Secretary for Native Affairs, Sir G.W. Lagden, the Commissioner for Native Affairs, stated that "the site seems healthy and favourable," but he then drew attention to an obvious drawback - the distance of Klipspruit Farm from the heart of Johannesburg. For the colonial authorities a major concern was the possib-

(7) Council Minutes, 1904, vol.II, p.879.

(8) NA 402, 1085/06, Town Clerk - Robert, 26.3.1906.

(9) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, 18.12.1905, p.1.

ility that the move to Klipspruit would have a depressing effect on the labour market, since the twelve mile train journey between Nancefield Station and Park Station in town, would, allowing for stoppages, take about forty-five minutes and after this there was still the walk to and from the location.

To this argument the Municipal Council replied:

No suitable ground was available within a more convenient distance, [and] that the Council was convinced that not only should the location be placed outside the town, but that it should be as far as possible removed from any neighbourhood inhabited by Europeans.

since such conditions facilitated its keeping order and maintaining efficient sanitary control. Its concluding statement that the "greater space of the location cannot fail to have a beneficial effect upon the health and cleanliness of the native", clearly reveals the Council's major concerns.⁽¹⁰⁾ At a local level economic factors were certainly not significant in early urban segregation policies.

By October 1905 the Municipal Council had spent £1 118.517.0 on a water supply, and £2 368.26.0 on the location itself.⁽¹¹⁾ Most of the latter was used for the purchase of the 101 huts, stables, a store, dustbins, water tanks and veld closets from the Rand Plague Committee. April 1st 1906 was announced as the date by which all residents of the "Kaffir" Location would be required to have moved to the Klipspruit Location.⁽¹²⁾

That the Municipal Council was able to initiate the scheme without active opposition from the central authorities who had indicated that the establishment of a location at Klipspruit was opposed to their interests, indicates the degree of autonomy and freedom of choice

(10) Council Minutes, 1904, p.868.

(11) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year ending 1.10.1905, p.8.

(12) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year ending 1.10.1905, p.8.

enjoyed by the local authorities. Councillors were elected by the local ratepayers and, with the exception of the medical officer of health, all officials were appointed by the Council. The Council received no financial aid from any other authority and this further increased its independence. Revenue was obtained directly from rates paid by the owners of fixed property and from indirect taxation through, for example, the supply of electricity, water and transport, sewerage and sanitary fees, and users of the library or fire-brigade services. Since the mining companies paid no rates for the land they owned in the municipal area, mining interests were of little concern to the Council. The Council was responsible to the local community alone. As Maud points out;

The fact that no continuous or thorough supervision is exercised over municipal government by any superior authority makes the responsibility of the Johannesburg council to the local community particularly heavy. (13)

Initially the Municipal Council favoured the idea of Africans building their own homes in Klipspruit Location and it therefore reserved a sizable part of the location for such Africans. Building stands in this section were 30' x 50', and in one half of this area a more expensive type of house was required to be built than in the other half. The monthly rent was set at 3s. 6d., plus charges for water and sanitary services. Where more than two persons over the age of ten years, and three under that age, resided on the stand, a further charge for each additional person would be added, 1s. 6d. in the case of someone over ten years of age and 9d. for persons under ten years.

Buildings had to be erected on the stand within six months of the stand permit's being granted, but only after the Municipal Council had approved the plan.

(13) J.P.R. Maud : City Government, p.342.

So anxious was the Council to encourage private building, that it was even prepared to allow private builders free occupancy of the plague huts until their own homes were completed. A further indication of the desire of the Council to establish a permanent settled community in Klipspruit is provided by the ruling that if a standholder remained absent from his stand for more than six months without the permission of the Council, or if he ceased to be a bona fide occupant of the stand, the Council had the right to cancel the tenure without providing any form of compensation.

Furthermore land was to be set aside to enable permanent residents in the location to rent half acre mealie plots on a yearly tenancy. A further possibility, one left open for decision at a later date, was that irrigated plots would be provided for the use of location residents.

On another part of the location, the Council intended to erect municipal lodging-houses for those wishing neither to erect their own buildings nor to reside as lodgers on the premises of others. In such cases the monthly rent decided upon was 4s. 6d. per lodger, inclusive of water and sanitary services. In addition, huts taken over from the Rand Plague Committee would be available at a rate of 3s. per lodger. As far as residence in these lodging-houses and huts was concerned, the permanence or otherwise of occupancy was irrelevant.⁽¹⁴⁾

The site at Klipspruit was thus laid out in stands, 30' x 50', with a large square in the centre and trees around the outer edge. Trading stands, each consisting of two stands, one for trading and one for residence, were situated on the corners of streets. The charge

(14) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, "Statement for the Information of Natives" about the "New Location at Klipspruit," December 1905.

for these trading stands was set at £1.16.0. per month. "Kaffir" eating houses were similarly situated on corner stands in various parts of the location. Sixteen sites, each made up of four stands, were set aside for churches. Here the charge was only 4d. per month, although an additional 4s. 6d. was charged for sanitary services. Four sites, each consisting of four stands, were set aside for the building of schools, while two stands in every twenty were reserved for municipal and other purposes. (15)

At first glance the Municipal Council's plan would seem to have provided opportunities for the growth of an autonomous community in Klipspruit Location. However, one need only consider one restraint placed on residents, namely that "no one, without the express permission of the Council, would be permitted to obtain the use of more than one building plot or one mealie plot", (16) to realise that the Municipal Council was unwilling to allow the growth of too wealthy an entrepreneurial class. The discouragement of further investment was perhaps the most effective means of stunting the growth of such a class of Africans in the location.

The decision of the Municipal Council to compel Africans to move to Klipspruit Location, thus leading significant numbers to lose their independent status as workers, was opposed by the colonial administration. In a letter dated 20th January 1906 the Native Commissioner of the Central Division, H.M. Taberer, wrote that there were "a considerable number who ply as dray-cart owners, scotch-owners, hawkers, togt boys etc": it was

(15) Council Minutes, 1906, p.489.

(16) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, "Statement for the Information of Natives" about the "New Location at Klipspruit," December 1905.

"essential to their success that they should be within easy reach of the town", and if compelled to live in the location at Klipspruit, "they may have to change their occupations. They have to leave the immediate neighbourhood of a large town with its advantages and fascinations for what may appear to them an expensive and unattractive life in the country." (17) In the following month he pointed out that it was hardly surprising that "only a limited number of householders in the present location have applied for stands at Klipspruit", since "large numbers of native householders in the location have to pay as much as 5/- per month in church contributions, 5-7/6 per month in school fees, and a certain sum per month for washing." (18)

In the face of this official disapproval the Municipal Council persevered with its policy. During 1906 more and more residents of the "Kaffir" Location were compelled to move to Klipspruit. In order to persuade them to move of their own accord, sweeping promises (that subsequently proved meaningless) were made. For example, Jeremiah, a resident in Klipspruit Location and a witness at the investigation conducted in 1919 to enquire into grievances in the location, claimed that he had

moved to Klipspruit from the old location, because he had been told that he would be able to keep goats, pigs, cattle as on a farm: that beer could be kept and that they would not be arrested for being drunk and noisy because there were no white people near to be annoyed. (19)

There appears to be no ground for doubting the authenticity of this statement, particularly since it was supported by another witness who stated that he had

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- (17) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, Native Commissioner, Central Division - Secretary of Native Affairs, 20.1.1906.
 (18) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, Native Commissioner, Central Division - Secretary of Native Affairs, 20.1.1906.
 (19) The Star, 5.9.1919.

been told that he

would be allowed to keep a pig or goat, could get to and from town for 6d., and would be allowed to carry 50lb. of parcels with them. Also because out on a farm, (they) would be able to get Kaffir beer without interference from the police. (20)

One aspect in which the actions of the Municipal Council appear in a slightly more favourable light, was the decision, in contrast to earlier forced moves, to compensate Africans for the buildings that they were being forced to vacate. Most accepted compensation in the form of the market value of the material of which their huts were constructed, plus a sum equal to 30 per cent of such value in respect of the original cost of erection, such values being determined by the Town Engineer. In these instances, dwellings became the property of the Municipal Council. The Council then transported the materials to Klipspruit and re-sold them. Twenty residents of the "Kaffir" Location accepted 60 per cent of the value as determined by the Town Engineer, took down their constructions, had the materials transported to Klipspruit by the Municipal Council and re-erected their dwellings there. In addition two dwellings were taken down by the Municipal Council itself, the materials being transported to Klipspruit and then re-erected by the Council. Altogether over 500 settlements were made, and a total of £13 000 was paid out in compensation. (21)

Attempts were also made in 1906 to compel Africans residing in Sophiatown to move to Klipspruit. These were unsuccessful. (22)

The Municipal Council favoured and encouraged the building of brick houses. It recognised that the cost of such buildings was beyond the scope of most Africans

(20) Rand Daily Mail, 2.9.1919.

(21) Council Minutes, 1906, p.619.

(22) See pp. 34-35.

and therefore, when it erected four "showhouses" in the "Kaffir" Location, these were built of wood and iron. The determination on the part of the Municipal Council to maintain a reasonable standard in the location is indicated by its complete prohibition of dwellings of sheet metal.

By October 1906 the number of applications for stands had increased significantly, probably as a result of the inducements offered. The response, in fact, appeared to augur well for the future of the location. Altogether 121 applications for residential stands had been granted, as had sixteen for trading stands, eleven for "Kaffir" eating-house stands, and six for church stands.⁽²³⁾ Roughly fifty mealie plots had been taken up.

Furthermore the Council's building programme was progressing rapidly, and, by the beginning of 1907, it was able to provide accommodation for 2 016 people. 50 per cent of these could be accommodated in triangular huts, 29 per cent in huts bought from the Rand Plague Committee, another 14 per cent in a lodging house for single moles and 7 per cent in a lodging-house for married couples.⁽²⁴⁾ Less satisfactory, from the point of view of the Council, was the slow progress being made in private building. Since cost was the dominant factor, people obviously tried to do as much as possible themselves, aided only by friends. Since few Africans were carpenters, progress was naturally slow.

During 1906-1907 a belt of gum trees was planted around the location, a washing establishment built, a service reservoir constructed, water laid on to the stands and a branch line of the railway constructed to the centre of the location.

The attitude of Africans to Klipspruit Location can

(23) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year ending 10.1906, p.155.

(24) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year ending 10.1906, p.155.

clearly be gauged. Since they had been told to leave the "Kaffir" Location, the number of Africans living in the irregular, unauthorised locations had increased significantly. In addition, a definite tendency for Africans to lease land from others in the vicinity of Klipspruit, but beyond municipal boundaries, was evident. Nevertheless, by the end of 1907 the population of Klipspruit Location totalled 1 800, and, within a year, this had increased to 2 500. (25)

An important step in the development of a stable community was the introduction of medical services. Previously residents had had to travel to Johannesburg, for medical treatment. While it was still necessary for them to travel to town in order to receive hospital treatment, in 1908 Dr. J. Croghan was appointed Medical Officer for Klipspruit Location. He was well-known in the location, since, before he had moved to Fordsburg, he had run a dispensary near the location. Dr. Croghan was provided, free of charge, with the use of a room in the location as a pharmacy and consulting room, and paid £10 per month by the Municipal Council for visits twice a week. Residents themselves paid 5s. per treatment at his room, and £1.10.0 if they called him specially to the location, as well as paying for any medicine they received. (26)

When the location was provided with a cemetery, residents were called on to pay the Municipal Council 15s. for a private grave, 7s. 6d. for a public one, and half these prices for graves for children. (27)

The Council at all times took care to ensure that it received maximum financial benefits possible. When

(25) Council Minutes, 1908, p.56.

(26) Council Minutes, 1908, p.56.

(27) Council Minutes, 1908, p.186.

stray cattle were found grazing on Klipspruit Farm, the Council took the opportunity to fence in the location. It claimed that the cattle had no right to such grazing, and that pasture was reserved exclusively for stock of the Council. (28)

By 1909 it was evident that Klipspruit Location was not a success. In his annual report, the Medical Officer of Health commented:

Owing mainly, it is believed, to its distance from town and time occupied by railway journey to and fro, this location has not proved financially or otherwise, the success which promoters expected it to be. (29)

In similar vein, the Transvaal Native Affairs Department stated that the location had been

established with full knowledge of objections to its situation, but it was hoped that it might nevertheless be a success. Much has been done to make it so, but sewage arrangements in themselves constitute a grievance for which there is no apparent remedy. (30)

Furthermore, Klipspruit Location was of little use as a centre for accommodating Africans employed in Johannesburg. Employers of African labour in town objected to the inconvenience of sending employees to reside overnight in the location at Klipspruit, and the Municipal Council found itself being requested to issue an increasing number of personal permits to Africans enabling them to live in town. Within practically every warehouse, foundry and factory in the central areas of Johannesburg, small private compounds were established, thus facilitating residence at places of employment. Conditions in these compounds, the number of Africans residing there illegally and the difficulty experienced by the police in controlling the situation, led the Council to consider the establishment of compounds

(28) Council Minutes, 1908, p.56.

(29) Report for the period 1.7.1906-30.6.1909, p.53.

(30) Report for the period 1.7.1909-31.5.1910, p.9.

at centres convenient for those in private employment,
on lines similar to compounds on the mines. (31)

In Johannesburg, municipal elections were not based on a party political system and decisions taken did not bear the stamp of an official political party. Most councillors came from the wealthier sectors of the white community and decisions tended to represent their interests. The establishment of compounds for male workers certainly suited local white commercial interests which demanded concentrations of strictly disciplined labour. (32) The Municipal Council itself, the largest single employer of African labour in Johannesburg, found it inconvenient to house its African employees in Klipspruit Location and continued to accommodate them in municipal compounds. As a non-political body, the Council was chiefly concerned with accommodating local ratepayer interests, in this case, in providing the most efficient municipal services possible. As the study of Klipspruit Location indicated, financial stringency was a major factor affecting municipal decisions.

The Council also began to consider the establishment of one, or possibly two, open locations where male African workers could live with their wives and families in close proximity to the town. As in 1904 when the location at Klipspruit had been established, so in 1911 the Council again brushed aside objections from the central authorities to siting a location beside a sewage disposal works. On this occasion, the Union Minister of Native Affairs, Henry Burton, acting on the advice of the Medical Officer of Health for the Union, refused to give his approval to the scheme. (33) Beyond that

(31) NA 398, 1867/1911/F1294, Acting Secretary for Native Affairs - Director of the Native Labour Bureau, 3.9.1910.

(32) See pp. 70-1.

(33) Sites for Native Locations, Minutes of Special Meeting of the Parks and Estates Committee, 27.8.1911.

he made no attempt to prevent the Municipal Council of Johannesburg from exercising its right to establish locations without reference to the central authorities. The Municipal Council did not however have the power to compel Africans to enter locations.

Section 85 of the Act of Union granted the Provincial Council of the Transvaal power to make ordinances relating to all matters affecting local authorities, and all matters which, in the opinion of the Governor-General-in-Council, were of a merely local or private nature. Section 147 of the Act vested control and administration of "native" affairs in the Governor-General-in-Council, and local authorities were therefore subject to the Union Government in their relations with their African inhabitants. When the Local Government Ordinance was passed in 1912, all earlier ordinances relating to Africans were repealed. This in effect prevented the Municipal Council from continuing with its proposed scheme.

Moreover the Council could not and would not spend large sums of money on the purchase of land for an open location within close proximity of the town. In terms of the Gold Law, the Minister of Mines had the power to reserve surface rights on land held under mining title, for the purpose of establishing a location. The Council thus attempted to obtain the use of such sites, but the Union Government and the mining companies were unable to conclude terms, and the government was unwilling to exercise its powers without the agreement of the companies concerned. In any event, whenever the Municipal Council suggested a possible site, the white inhabitants in that particular area, or on the routes which might be used by Africans travelling to and from town, protested against the proposal.

As a result of these circumstances the alternative to the establishment of open locations in close proximity to the town, that of establishing municipal compounds

similar to those on the mines, gained more support.

The Parks and Estates Committee stated:

The Committee is strongly of the opinion that the housing of natives in barracks under proper supervision is a much preferable method to the establishment of open locations. It cannot be forgotten that these open locations in close proximity to large white populations are very difficult to police and control. (34)

Without exception, the white commercial community was strongly opposed to the introduction of a compound system such as existed, for example, in Kimberley and on the Premier Mine. Those who resided in such compounds were rarely allowed out. They were restricted to a Sunday visit to town and were able to obtain all provisions within the compound. The introduction of such a system into Johannesburg would have caused immeasurable harm to small traders who would have suffered through not being able to compete for a share of the African trade. A significant proportion of the profits that could be derived from this trade would have been diverted to Britain, as a result of shareholders in many of the major trading concerns being resident in Britain.

A strong feeling in favour of adopting the so-called "Durban system" thus developed. Durban had no open locations, because of the belief that for Africans to be useful, they had to be housed as close as possible to their places of employment. The Municipal Council of Durban had accordingly developed a system based on a Togat Law and the Native Beer Act. Under the "togat system", Africans were employed for a day or on a daily wage. Such daily-paid labourers could be employed for housework or on business premises, and there was no need to provide them with sleeping accommodation. Under such conditions, they were likely to apply for accommodation in municipal establishments, particularly since they could reside there while out of work.

(34) The Star, 14.5.1912.

The Municipal Council of Durban charged Africans who wished to register as togt men 5s. per month. Such men were then supplied with a badge and quarters in places known as togt barracks. There were two such barracks in Durban, one at the Point for the convenience of employers of wharf labour, and another near the centre of the town. The number of such labourers varied from 2 000-2 500 all year round. All revenue derived was used in the administration of the system. (35)

The Municipal Council of Johannesburg had no power to establish such a system, although it was hoped that the Union Parliament would pass the necessary legislation in the very near future.

The main stumbling block to most of the suggestions, possible solutions and actual attempts made by the Municipal Council, continued to be the attitudes typically demonstrated by the local white population. For example, when the Municipal Council applied for a government grant of vacant land bordering on the northern boundary of the Robinson Deep Gold Mining Company, so that a municipal compound or location could be established there, residents of areas in the vicinity, Ophirton, Booysens and Lakeside, immediately protested. (36) Residents on the Ferreira and Ferreira Deep properties protested against the proposed placing of a compound or location for Africans on a site near the Eloff Street extension, opposite the sportsground of the Village Main Reef. (37)

Similarly, when after months of discussion, the

(35) The Star, 14.5.1912. For further discussion of the "Durban system", see Maynard W. Swanson: Urban Origins of Separate Development.

(36) Trans aal Leader, 23.9.1913.

(37) Rand Daily Mail, 13.11.1913.

Municipal Council acquired an option to purchase forty acres of the worked-out ground of the Salisbury and Jubilee Gold Mines, as well as the buildings on it, for £25 000, residents of the surrounding areas protested.⁽³⁸⁾ The scheme envisaged would have provided accommodation for about 1 000 Africans, but the Council was unable to accept the offer, because it had no assurance that the central authorities would grant it the necessary legislative sanction to proceed. Furthermore, the proposed purchase raised questions such as the obligation of the Council to keep the shafts open, the workings free from filth, and the air passages pure and open. Moreover the land was difficult to drain, and the option was accordingly allowed to lapse at the end of April 1912.

In the following year, 1913, the Municipal Council acquired a short lease of the old Salisbury and Jubilee Compound on a monthly tenancy from the Central Rand Freehold Ltd. Although the compound was able to accommodate only 1 200 male Africans, it was a highly significant step in the ultimate control of the unskilled labour force, since the successful establishment of a compound system would enable the Municipal Council to control this labour force. The Council had no power to compel Africans to reside in a compound and the success of the scheme would depend on the co-operation of the employers of African labour. Since the Council represented to a large extent employers' commercial interests, it was assured of their support.

This question of providing residential quarters for Africans was thus not simply a matter of providing adequate housing accommodation. It involved the taking of decisions that affected the social and industrial conditions of the entire population of Johannesburg. A particular concern was the effect on the wages, and thus on the living conditions, of the white population

(38) Rand Daily Mail, 22.3.1912.

of Johannesburg. The influx of Africans was adversely affecting the standard of living of those whites in the lower income brackets.⁽³⁹⁾ The wage necessary to maintain what these whites felt was an adequate standard of living was higher than the wage that they would have commanded in an unrestricted labour market in Johannesburg. African workers who had no restrictions placed on them would begin to compete with white workers, and the herding of African workers into compounds was a major step towards the ultimate control of their labour, thus ensuring that they were not able to move beyond the ranks of unskilled workers.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The compound system thus envisaged would not provide for African women and children, and it was for this reason that the Municipal Council began to reconsider the introduction of an open location system as a complement to the compound system. On the 29th June 1915 the Council accordingly appointed a special committee "to investigate and to report on a system of housing natives".⁽⁴¹⁾ This committee, under the chairmanship of Councillor S. Hancock,⁽⁴²⁾ concluded its report just over a year later, and it suggested the establishment of one or more open locations on the lines of the Klipspruit Location, but at more reasonable distances from town.⁽⁴³⁾ It indicated further that it considered two sites suitable, the Township of Highlands North and that of Southwoods, both of which were available to the Municipal Council.

The Township of Highlands North was 353 acres in extent and about five miles from the Market Square. Title was freehold, and the purchase price asked was

(39) See pp. 17-22.

(40) See Chapter V, p.119.

(41) Council Minutes, 1916, p.468.

(42) The Star, 21.2.1916. The other councillors on the committee were C. Rowe, Mary Fitzgerald, S.A. Smit and B. Anderson.

(43) Council Minutes, 1916, pp. 468-469.

£15 000. The other site, Southwoods Township, was actually the one more favoured by the Special Committee. It was about 85 acres in extent, and about three and a half miles from the Market Square. Title was also freehold, and the purchase price requested was £8 800 and included £800 for a large number of blue gum trees on the land in question.

The reasons put forward by the Special Committee in favour of the site at Southwoods in preference to that of Highlands North, provide valuable insights into a definite shift in thinking and major reconsiderations in respect of policies and Africans in the municipal area. The Committee stated :

In regard to the site at Highlands North, we feel that very serious objections may be put forward, and have already been put forward, against the establishment of a native location in that township, on account of its proximity to such a thickly-populated suburb as Norwood and on account of the fact that the natives would require to traverse such suburbs as Houghton Estate, Yeoville, Berea, Hillbrow and Hospital Hill.... Its distance from town is the main objection in our opinion, for experience has proved that in order to be useful a location must be as close as possible to the locality where the natives are employed. Moreover, even if special trams were run for the natives, the cost of transport compared with the site at Southwoods is 50 per cent more, and the extra cost would prohibit natives from using such special trams.

In regard to Southwoods, the ground is more expensive, but it is admittedly admirably situated for the purpose. The soil is deep and sandy ... and it is within easy walking distance of the town, [three and a half miles after a hard day's work!!!], while at the same time it is a considerable distance from practically any white habitation. It can be almost hidden from view by leaving a belt of blue gum trees around it, and the means of communication with the town viz. through the uninhabited portion of Turffontein West and along the Booysen tram line, make it an eminently suitable site. (44)

Although the Parks and Estates Department, the department responsible for locations, endorsed the report, it was not adopted by the Municipal Council as a whole. First the Council felt that the price requested was too high. According to ordinary market valuation, £8 800 including trees worth about £800, was about twice the highest price realised in the vicinity in the previous few years.⁽⁴⁵⁾ This was in line with the general tendency that as soon as there was the least suspicion that the Municipal Council might possibly require a particular site for public purposes, the price of the site rocketed. The second major factor that influenced the Council ~~were~~ the protests from residents in the neighbourhood that the scheme would endanger the safety of their families and destroy the amenities of the southern suburbs as a residential area for whites. Thus although the labour requirements of the industrial and commercial community were on the minds of a significant number of councillors in 1917, their interests were not the overriding concern of the Council at this time. Racial attitudes were in the forefront.

Here one detects the influence of the Labour Party in the Council. The Labour Party alone fought municipal elections on a party political platform and it had scored its first major success in 1911 when eleven of the thirty councillors elected were members of the Labour Party. Katz states:⁽⁴⁶⁾

Political expediency forced socialists in the Labour Party to play down or abandon their commitment to the socialist cause, for it was clear that socialism had little appeal for the white electorate. The S.A.L.P. programme [in 1910] was devoid of any reference to socialism.

(45) Council Minutes, 1916, p.469.

(46) E.N. Katz : A Trade Union Aristocracy, pp. 269 and 455-6. The origins of the South African Labour Party, 1888-1910, are discussed by D. Ticktin in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1973.

She also points out:

Although the craft-union dominated Labour Party was at first primarily concerned with the working conditions of skilled artisans, by the end of 1913 it had also begun to concern itself with the conditions of unskilled white industrial workers.

In 1900 trade-union membership in the Transvaal was only 4 000.⁽⁴⁷⁾ By 1914 trade-union membership had trebled to 12 000 and by 1918 it numbered 78 000. It reached the highpoint in 1921 when membership numbered 108 000, but following the general strike on the Rand in 1922, membership dropped to 26 000.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Besides the Labour Party, no other official political party was represented in the Council and this lack of an official organised opposition party frequently enabled the Labour Party to influence the Council unduly. Although the Parks and Estates Committee endorsed the adoption of the Southwoods scheme, Labour Party influence held sway in the Council as a whole and the scheme was rejected.⁽⁴⁹⁾ A compromise measure according to which the Council adopted the principle that accommodation for Africans should be provided in each quarter of town "so that any section of the community cannot complain that they are being saddled with natives belonging to other portions of the Municipality", was adopted.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Municipal Council focused its attention on a site on the Newlands Farm. Its area, 256 acres, was so large, that in addition to a location, it offered the possibility of partition and allocation of plots for farming. At an ordinary rate of travel, it was

(47) C.W.De Kiewiet : A History of South Africa - Social and Economic, p.213.

(48) J.P.R.Maud : City Government, p.79.

(49) Further examples of Labour Party influence in the Council are described by J.P.R.Maud : City Government, pp. 81-85.

(50) Sites for Native Locations, Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 30.11.1917.

six miles or about twenty minutes distant by tram from the Market Square, and £25 000 had already been earmarked for the tramline to Newlands.⁽⁵¹⁾

Newlands Farm had been purchased by the Stadsraad in 1896, for £20 477, from Alberts and Geldenhuis.⁽⁵²⁾ It was situated on parts of the original farms, "Waterval No. 10" and "Middelfontein No. 2", and at the time that the Municipal Council decided on a definite scheme for the establishment of a location at Newlands, the land was let to F. Case until 1st April 1920. On payment of £350, he granted the Municipal Council immediate possession,⁽⁵³⁾ and tenders were called for, the first seventy-five two-roomed houses. At about this time too, following requests from the ratepayers of Newlands and the Department of Native Affairs, the Municipal Council decided to name the Newlands Location, "Western Native Township".⁽⁵⁴⁾

In line with the policies that had been applied to Klipspruit Location, the first houses built provided for families. They were of wire-cut hollow bricks, had pitched roofs, a verandah, two rooms, each 10' x 10', white-washed interior walls, and a fireplace and brick chimney in one of the rooms. Tenants themselves were required to lay the floors, using earth mixed with cowdung. Each house had its own kitchen and washing facilities. The tariff for such a house was 25s. per family per month, while thirty-six single rooms for single Africans were available at a rate of 15s. per month.⁽⁵⁵⁾ In addition, land was set aside for those Africans who wished to build their own houses, as well as sixty acres on the north-west corner of the farm

(51) The Star, 18.4.1917.

(52) Survey of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, 1950, p.27.

(53) Council Minutes, 1918, p.310.

(54) Council Minutes, 1918-1919, p.22.

(55) See Appendix B, p.187.

for development as an industrial site. Thus in intention, the policies applied to Western Native Township were no different from those that had been adopted in relation to Klipspruit Location.

By June 1919 the first seventy-five houses had been completed and occupied, but private building had not commenced. This was largely as a result of the rise in building costs during the First World War and the lack of a corresponding rise in wages for Africans. The Council subsequently refused to grant permission to Africans so that they could build privately in Western Native Township, a reflection of the dominance of the Labour Party in the Council.

In 1918 Labour Party interests in the Council were represented by three councillors, but following elections held in 1919 the Labour Party controlled the Council. In protest against revelations of municipal maladministration fewer than 27 per cent of registered voters had actually cast their votes in 1919 and by 1921 the Labour Party no longer dominated the Council. Municipal election results were also influenced by trends at a national level. The general election held in March 1920 was a high point for the Labour Party. After the general election held in February 1921 the number of Labour members decreased from twenty-one to nine.

The two years of Labour Party dominance and "concern for the interests of white labour and frank hostility to black labour",⁽⁵⁶⁾ left their mark. Those who opposed the Labour Party and who desired a non-party system in the Municipal Council controlled the Council between 1921 and 1924. Yet attitudes that had become manifest in the Council during the period of Labour Party control, continued to dominate after 1921. It was particularly significant that features providing for the permanent settlement of Africans in Johannesburg and the establishment of a viable community were not made available in Western Native Township.⁽⁵⁷⁾

(56) C.W.De Kiewiet : A History of South Africa - Social and Economic, p.213.

(57) See p.110.

The lack of the means to finance further development of the township by the Council can however not be ignored as a factor affecting its decisions.

Instead of authorising private building, the Municipal Council authorised the building of a further 200 two-roomed houses, as well as 100 Nissen huts. (58) These huts were similar to the steel huts used by the military authorities in France during the First World War. Each was fifteen ~~feet~~ ^{inches} in diameter and six feet high, and could accommodate a family. The floor was pitched, with a cowl for a stove pipe in the centre. Two windows and a single door completed the hut. When it is considered that the cost of each hut was £55, plus about £5 for erection and painting, (59) it is hardly surprising that the Municipal Council decided to adopt the Nissen hut as a dwelling unit suitable for residents of the township. Another advantage of the Nissen hut was that it could be erected in a day by a competent man aided by a single labourer.

In October 1919 the Council leased the Wemmer Compound from the Village of Reef Gold Mining Co. Ltd. for two years, with an option of renewal. (61) The decision of a Council controlled by the Labour Party, to continue with the second prong of established municipal policy, that of providing compound accommodation for single male African workers, illustrates the extent to which the Labour Party was concerned with the interests of white workers rather than being a genuine socialist movement.

By the end of 1921 the Municipal Council had spent

(58) Council Minutes, 1920-1921, p.16.

(59) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 10.8.1920.

(60) Council Minutes, 1918-1919, p.22.

(61) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 10.1.1921.

£54 714. 52. 9. on housing in Western Native Township.

This amount had been spent as follows:

127 houses were erected by the department	£19 242. 18. 5.
100 houses were erected under contract	£19 305. 13. 1.
100 Nissen huts, including closets	£ 9 617. 10. 0.
Single rooms erected departmentally	£ 6 550. 11. 3.
	£54 714. 52. 9. (82)

Western Native Township was certainly not a paying proposition for the Municipal Council. Since wages paid to Africans were such that the rentals charged them had to be proportionate, the Council could not be re-imbursed for its outlay. Furthermore, at the end of 1919, a tram service had been inaugurated, and this had caused the Council to suffer a further loss of about £160 per month. (63)

By 1921 the population of Western Native Township was 608 (274 adults and 334 children). (64) Residents were drawn from various areas of Johannesburg, although particular attention had been paid to residents of the Malay Location. In 1920 the population of this location was 3 641 (1 200 men, 1 014 women and 1 347 children). (65) The Council hoped to accommodate these residents in Western Native Township, as a first step towards solving the slum problem in the Malay Location. When it is considered that by the end of 1920, only 80 Africans from the Malay Location had moved to Western Native Township, (66) it is evident that at that rate of progress,

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- (62) Reports to the Parks and Estates Committee, Report of the Superintendent of Locations, 1920-1921, and Report of the Town Engineer, 1920-1921.
- (63) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, Report of the Superintendent of Locations, 1919-1920.
- (64) JUS 268, 3/127/20, Director of Native Labour - Secretary for Native Affairs, 4.12.1920.
- (65) JUS 268, 3/127/20, Director of Native Labour - Secretary for Native Affairs, 4.12.1920.
- (66) JUS 268, 3/127/20, Director of Native Labour - Secretary for Native Affairs, 4.12.1920.

it would be a very long time before Western Native Township had absorbed all the Africans resident in the Malay Location. Furthermore, the decision by the Municipal Council to halt building operations at the end of 1921 on account of the financial depression, was hardly likely to facilitate a policy of providing alternative accommodation for Africans prior to its clearing up of insanitary areas dotted around Johannesburg.

It is thus evident that the Council was unable to cope with the situation. By 1921 it had a backlog of 400 applications from African families for accommodation in Western Native Township.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Even if the Council, managed to raise the necessary finance to complete its scheme, it would provide for only 5 000 Africans, less than half the number of those who were legally entitled to reside in town under the permit system. Furthermore, since it was not proposed to build houses of more than two rooms, residence in Western Native Township was limited to small families - unless the Municipal Council resorted to overcrowding. In addition, the six miles distance from town necessitated travel, either by train or tram. Special trams had been provided for Africans, at a charge of 2d. for a single journey.⁽⁶⁸⁾ However, the constant loss that was being incurred by the tramway department of the Municipal Council had necessitated these fares being raised, and, even though Africans residing in Western Native Township paid half the amount paid by residents in Klipspruit Location, it still constituted a financial burden to people earning as little as they did. Since almost any scheme for housing Africans would encounter this problem, a complete change in the policy that prohibited Africans from using the same trams as whites, appeared to offer

(67) Sites for Native Locations, Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 10.1.1921.

(68) Report of the Housing Sub-Committee, p.4.

the only possible solution - short of increasing African wages.

That the councillors of Johannesburg realised that they were unable to cope with the situation is indicated by their response to the report and recommendations of the committee that had investigated conditions in Klipspruit Location.⁽⁶⁹⁾ This represented such an indictment of the policies of the Council in relation to the location, that, in January 1920 the members of the Parks and Estates Committee, acting on behalf of the Council as a whole, responded by requesting the central authorities to take all locations and townships occupied by Coloured persons and Africans outside the municipal area under the direct administration of the Department of Native Affairs.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The Council thus sought simply to wash its hands of a failure for which it bore a large responsibility.⁽⁷¹⁾ The only point in the report to which it actually responded positively was that providing for adjustments to be made in the administration and control of the locations. The administration of the parks and zoos of Johannesburg was separated from that of the locations, two entirely separate departments being created.⁽⁷²⁾ One other innovation that followed the report was that residents in the location were allowed to elect a Native Advisory Committee.⁽⁷³⁾

This inability of the local authorities to cope with slum conditions and housing accommodation was not peculiar to Johannesburg. The passing of the Public Health Act in 1919, an act that empowered the local

(69) See pp. 153 and 165-6.

(70) The Star, 21.1.1920.

(71) See p.149.

(72) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 4.5.1920.

(73) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 23.2.1920.

authorities to take steps to prevent or remedy "all conditions liable to be injurious or dangerous to health arising from the erection or occupation of unhealthy dwellings or premises",⁽⁷⁴⁾ is a clear indication of this. The Union Government simultaneously appointed a Housing Committee

to consider and report whether it is advisable for the Government to give financial or other assistance to local authorities and others in providing housing accommodation in urban areas for persons of limited means, including coloured persons and natives, and, if so, the best method of doing it. (75)

This was followed in 1920 by the admission by Senator J.A.C. Graaff, the Minister of Public Works, that there was a general shortage of housing in the Union, and the passing of the Housing Act.⁽⁷⁶⁾ This brought into being a Central Housing Board that was empowered to hold enquiries into housing needs of different areas, and to assist local authorities in preparing housing schemes. The Act also empowered various local authorities to make loans to approved persons or societies for the carrying out of housing schemes. Parliament would, from time to time, appropriate funds to a Treasury that would, in turn, feed the Housing Loans Fund that would be established in each province. The Union Government had thus taken a first positive step aimed at providing funds so that subsidised housing projects could be undertaken.

As a first step towards assisting the Municipal Council of Johannesburg in particular, the Union Government appointed a Committee consisting of the Chief Magistrate, the Government Mining Commissioner and the Director of Native Labour.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Through this

(74) U.G. 36-1919.

(75) The Star, 10.11.1919.

(76) U.G. 35-1920.

(77) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year 11.1921-11.1922, p.116.

channel, the Municipal Council opened negotiations with the mining companies concerned for the purchase of the Wolhuter and George Goch Claims and the City and Suburban Compound.⁽⁷⁸⁾ These the Municipal Council hoped to purchase with the aid of a government loan.

The action of the central authorities had thus successfully spurred the Municipal Council to make further efforts to find solutions to its housing problems. When the lease for the Wemmer Compound expired in July 1922, the lessor, the Village Main Reef Gold Mining Co. Ltd., was in liquidation, and since the lease could not therefore be renewed, the Council purchased the compound.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Its intention was to erect new barracks to accommodate 3 500 single male Africans. The completion of this scheme would enable the Salisbury and Jubilee Compound to be vacated, since buildings there were in a very poor condition, and former residents would be transferred to the Wemmer Compound. A similar compound was planned for a site between the old Ferreira Mine and the Robinson Gold Mine.⁽⁸⁰⁾ The Council also expressed its intention to acquire 75-100 acres for an eastern location on the vacant piece of ground between the old Wolhuter and George Goch Gold Mine.⁽⁸¹⁾ At the same time, building at the Western Native Township was resumed. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that in providing accommodation for male Africans, the Municipal Council had maintained its practice of housing Africans in its employ in municipal compounds scattered about within the municipal area.

(78) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year 11.1921-11.1922, p.116.

(79) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year 11.1921-11.1922, p.115.

(80) JUS 268, 3/127/20, Chairman, Parks and Estates Committee - Resident Magistrate, 4.1.1921.

(81) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 10.1.1921.

In suggesting in 1921 that a site should be set aside for a hostel for African women, ⁽⁸²⁾ the Municipal Council revealed a definite new trend in official thinking. When African women had first come to Johannesburg, they had come on a temporary basis to seek work and earn money. Such women had tended to work in Johannesburg in the winter months, and to return home to assist in the harvesting of crops. As the years passed, African women entered Johannesburg in ever-increasing numbers, a trend that was noted by the Commission appointed in 1913 to enquire into Assaults on Women. This noted:

The inclination of native women to come to centres of labour is declared by a competent authority to be growing very rapidly. Men are now more encouraging in allowing their wives and daughters to go to the industrial centres. (83)

Having experienced town life, and freedom from the control of the reserves, African women were remaining in Johannesburg in increasing numbers. Between 1911 and 1921, the number of African women in Johannesburg increased 180 per cent, from 4 357 to 12 160. Unfortunately, it is not possible to compare this increase in numbers with that of urban African males. Proctor has contended:

The 1921 census revealed that while there had been a 5% increase of African males in Johannesburg from 1911 to 1921 (97 614 102 960), the corresponding figure for women was 180% (4 357 - 12 160). (84)

Such a comparison is however not possible, since the majority of the African males were recruited for the mines. No accurate figures are available as to the number who entered Johannesburg of their own accord, and sought employment in the non-mining sector.

(82) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 10.1.1921.

(83) U.G. 39-1913, p.27.

(84) A.Proctor : Urban Class Conflict and the History of Three Johannesburg Suburbs - Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare, 1905-1940, p.18.

Quarters for married couples had long been provided in the locations, but the decision to erect a hostel for single women implied recognition and acceptance of them as active members of the labour force of Johannesburg.

By 1923 the Municipal Council of Johannesburg had spent £176 899 on housing accommodation for Africans. This had been utilised in the following manner:

Klipspruit Location	£54 246.	11.	6.	
Western Native Township	£107 254.	12.	11.	
Wemmer Compound	£12 848.	7.	3.	
Wolhuter Compound	£2 550.	0.	0.	(85)

Thus many years before the passing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923, ⁽⁸⁶⁾ the practice of providing separate residential areas for Africans was well-established. Initially, the elimination of slums and the control of disease and crime combined with hostile racial attitudes, were the major factors motivating this policy. With the passage of time and the development of Johannesburg, the interests of the growing local white commercial and industrial community began to play an increasingly central role in the provision of residential quarters for Africans by the Municipal Council of Johannesburg.

(85) S.C. 3-1923, p.27.

(86) See p.131.

CHAPTER IV

SCHEMES AND SETTLEMENTS

Having discussed the foundations and initial development of African places of residence and municipal schemes, we turn now to the nature and character of such settlements, and the communities that they accommodated. First, the privately-established townships of Sophiatown and Alexandra will be investigated.

Sophiatown represents a perfect example of municipal neglect. There were no roads, only what can be termed "tracks". In summer, these were little more than a quagmire, and in winter, thick with dust. There was no electric lighting, and this absence of street lights was a major factor accounting for the flourishing of crime and immorality in Sophiatown.⁽¹⁾ Residents depended for a water supply on wells which they themselves, or their neighbours, sank.⁽²⁾ These wells were open, and liable to contamination and pollution from percolating rain water, and this impure water supply was a major cause of insanitary conditions and resulting disease.

There were no public buildings or parks.⁽³⁾ By 1930, the two and a half acres of land that Tobiansky had promised the Municipality for use as a "public park" had not yet been transferred from his name to that of the Municipal Council of Johannesburg.⁽⁴⁾ A township that was served by a municipal water supply for example, had to bear a

(1) Rand Daily Mail, 14.5.1928.

(2) T12/4/2, L-19-13, vol.1, Livingstone and MacCarthy - Town Council, Johannesburg, 14.5.1928.

(3) Survey of Western Areas of Johannesburg, 1950, p.23.

(4) T12/4/2, L-19-13, vol.1, City Engineer - Rand Townships Registrar, 21.7.1930.

portion of the costs of installation itself. The inability of residents to contribute, plus the policy of financial stringency adopted by the Municipal Council, had resulted in little being spent on improvements to Sophiatown.

In terms of race, Sophiatown had a mixed population, and once Africans began to buy there, only those whites too poor to move elsewhere continued to live in Sophiatown. Unfortunately, quantification is not possible. The Report of the Medical Officer of Health for 1914, for example, states that there were 361 Africans, 120 males, 65 females and 176 children, without permits, living on their own holdings at Sophiatown and Newclare.⁽⁵⁾ Yet the United Transvaal Directory for the same year, 1914, does not list a single African as being resident in Sophiatown.⁽⁶⁾ What is evident though, is that with the exception of large landowners such as Tobiansky and Marthinus Gysbert Keyter, who held about twenty stands in leasehold,⁽⁷⁾ which were let to others, most of the residents of Sophiatown fell into a low income bracket.

Within the township, houses varied from well-built buildings of four or more rooms, to single-roomed, extremely dilapidated shacks built of odd scraps of sheet metal.⁽⁸⁾ Initially, there was only one communal centre, the Ebenezer Congregational Church (Incorporated). By the 1920s, non-governmental sources had begun to provide much needed community services. In 1923, for example, the Anglican Church opened the first wing of the St. Joseph's Home for Coloured Children in Sophiatown, and, four years later, it initiated a daily clinic.⁽⁹⁾ The desperate need for such services is evident when one notes that in 1928 a report in the Rand Daily Mail newspaper stated that

(5) 1.7.1914 - 30.6.1915, p.36.

(6) P.1302.

(7) Johannesburg Municipality, Valuation Rolls.

(8) Survey of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, 1950, p.24.

(9) Lewis and Edwards (ed.) : Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, pp. 645-9.

"dysentery, enteric and tuberculosis are rife," and that "about 80 per cent of the people suffer from venereal disease." (10)

Alexandra Township presents a less dismal picture. It was further from the mines than Sophiatown and the size of the plots was larger. A wealthier class of Coloured people was thus attracted to Alexandra. In 1922 the average price for a plot was £65, (11) and most residents held freehold title in their own names. Besides a small sanitary fee no other fee was levied.

The Jukskei river ran through part of the township, and there were three dams and several springs in the township. Water was obtained from wells and there was a depositing site on the eastern side of the river. There was no refuse removal service and sanitary services were organised by a Health Committee. Following representations made by the Alexandra Township Company, this had been established by the Administrator of the Transvaal and comprised five nominated members, one to represent the Department of Native Affairs, two the Alexandra Township Company and two the residents. (12) Roads were in a poor state and there was no street lighting. (13)

In general, houses were of raw brick with pitched or flat iron roofs. There were quite a number of a much poorer type that had insufficient lighting or ventilation. (14) The township company had donated or sold cheaply, twenty-seven lots to religious denominations for church and educational purposes. The township had its own cemetery and was policed by the same force as the adjoining white areas.

In 1916 the population of Alexandra totalled 900. (15) By 1922 this had increased to some 3 500. (16) Since the

(10) 14.5.1928.

(11) Sites for Native Locations, Extract from Report to Parks and Estates Committee, 19.6.1922.

(12) T.P.1 - 1937, Part III, p.25.

(13) T.P.1 - 1937, Part III, p.27.

(14) T.P.1 - 1937, Part III, p.27.

(15) T.P.1 - 1937, Part III, p.25.

(16) U.G. 15 - 1923, p.41.

land had been intended to accommodate 20 000 people, space presented no problem. Many of the residents kept fowls, but beyond this, there were few animals in Alexandra. Most residents lived by gardening and about 1 200 lots in the southern part of the township had been leased to market gardeners.⁽¹⁷⁾ Those who worked in Johannesburg were provided in each case with a certificate from the secretary of the Alexandra Township Company stating that the holder was a plotowner in Alexandra, and he was then granted the necessary pass to travel between Alexandra and his place of work.⁽¹⁸⁾ Few sought work beyond the immediate vicinity of Alexandra, since no transport was provided for Africans residing there. Most of the women in Alexandra therefore involved themselves in the brewing of beer or the building of houses in the township, although a fair number were engaged in clothes-washing for white residents of surrounding townships.

Within Alexandra, there were only twenty-five whites (fourteen male and eleven female).⁽¹⁹⁾ Since no whites were allowed to reside or carry on business of any nature in Alexandra,⁽²⁰⁾ it seems likely that these were officials and their wives of either the Alexandra Township Company or the Department of Native Affairs. Whites did however control trade in Alexandra since they were the wholesalers who supplied the African traders. Also white farmers entered the township and illegally sold bread, milk, fruit and vegetables, undercutting African traders whose profits had to cover their overheads.

Most activities were organised by residents themselves who elected a Vigilance Committee to look after the interests of the community as a whole. Residents also elected a number of smaller committees to "regulate the social as well as economic life of the community under the very best and proper control we are capable of, and consistently with the customs and morals obtaining in the best regulated

(17) Sites for Native Locations, Draft to the Parks and Estates Committee, undated.

(18) JUS 234, 3/460/16, S. Popenfus, Chairman of the Alexandra Township Company - Director of Native Labour, 22.6.1916.

(19) U.G. 15-1923, p.41.

(20) Registrar of Deeds, Pretoria, Alexandra.

townships." (21)

Drunkenness and illicit liquor dealing were major problems in Alexandra, particularly over week-ends when the township served as a point of congregation for domestic servants from the surrounding northern suburbs of Johannesburg. In an attempt to deal with these conditions, special police patrols were introduced on Saturdays and Sundays. In addition frequent raids were conducted. These led to a great deal of dissatisfaction on the part of residents. First they objected to police methods. Plain-clothed African policemen often entered houses in the absence of occupants, and ransacked such houses, sometimes stealing the odd article or two in the process. Secondly, much of the liquor was carried from the township by the women, together with their bundles of washing, and this was a major means of supplementing their incomes. (22)

Most of the residents were regular churchgoers and the community as a whole was a law-abiding one. It can therefore be concluded that conditions in Alexandra eighteen years after its establishment, held out the promise that the township might develop into a place of residence for a thriving self-sufficient African community.

Another African community that witnessed rapid development during the twenty years between 1903 and 1923 was that in Klipspruit Location. This location was situated ten miles from the centre of Johannesburg, and like Alexandra, beyond the municipal boundaries of Johannesburg. It was nonetheless established by the Municipal Council of Johannesburg, and was under the supervision and control of a Superintendent of Locations appointed by the Parks and Estates Committee.

Communication between Johannesburg and this location was by means of a train service. The carriages of the

(21) JUS 234, 3/460/16, Deputation from natives in Alexandra Township to the Minister of Justice, 20.12.1918.

(22) JUS 234, 3/460/16, Deputation from natives in Alexandra Township to the Minister of Justice, 20.12.1918.

trains were converted cattle trucks that leaked extensively in the rainy season and were very draughty in winter. It was not until 1914, almost ten years after the establishment of the location, that a third class type of carriage was introduced.⁽²³⁾ There was one train in each direction each day. The evening train, for example, left Park Station in Johannesburg at 6.30 p.m., and only arrived at the location at 8.00 p.m. It stopped at every station along its twelve mile route, and often shunted at more than one station during the journey. Government employees finished work at between 4.00 p.m. and 4.30 p.m., and then had to wait around in town until 6.30 p.m. On the other hand those who missed the train had no option but to remain overnight in town, and when this happened on a Saturday they had to pay the Sunday fare, which was twice that of any other day.⁽²⁴⁾

Trains were overcrowded. In 1907 250 residents travelled in the one train daily.⁽²⁵⁾ There was no guard to supervise the boarding of or alighting from the train, and the ticket examiner turned a blind eye to pushing and fighting. For this transport passengers were charged 4d. for a single, 6d. for a return, 2s. 6d. for a weekly and 8s. 6d. for a monthly ticket.⁽²⁶⁾ For people earning as little as most of the residents of Klipspruit Location, this was a considerable drain. Although no figures are available to substantiate this statement, the Acting Assistant Colonial Secretary, in a letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs, W. Windham, stated that there is "a strong impression that in spite of all allegations to the contrary the General Manager is making a heavy profit out of this service at present".⁽²⁷⁾

(23) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, J.H. Robson - Town Clerk, 15.3.1918.

(24) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, Record of Meeting, 22.7.1909, p.1.

(25) Council Minutes, 1907, p.97.

(26) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for 1914-1915, p.39.

(27) NA 402, 126/1907, 21.12.1909.

Within the location, a number of residents provided their own transport. For a fee of 2s.6d. they obtained a permit granting them the right to use a cycle in the location. (28)

On arriving at the location, one could not escape the stench from the sewage farm. By 1917 the location was virtually surrounded by the sewage farm, and, unless the wind blew the smell from the sewage in another direction, it permeated every hut. Many of the huts were not even 300 yards from the sewage, and the railway line passed within a few feet of it. As early as September 1909 the Director of the Native Labour Bureau had recommended that "measures be taken to secure the removal of the natives from Klipspruit Location, because of the sanitary conditions". (29)

Initially water had been pumped from a spruit near Nancefield Station to a small reservoir on Klipspruit Farm. Subsequently a further supply was provided from that of the Rand Water Board at Zuurbekom, and the reservoir supply was from then onwards intended purely for domestic purposes. The Rand Water Board supply was available through four taps in the main thoroughfare in the location. The other streets were stony and full of potholes. The location had no electricity or street lighting until 1920, when Kitson lamps were installed. There was no municipal bathhouse. Waterpipes were never cleaned, so that they frequently became "stuffed with dead frogs". Deposits of slopwater caused the location to be infested with flies and mosquitoes. (30)

The area of the location had originally been 212,076

(28) Bye-laws for Native Locations, clause 23.

(29) NA 398, 1667/1911/F1294, Director of the Native Labour Bureau - Under Secretary for Native Affairs, 20.7.1910.

(30) The Star, 6.9.1919.

acres, and another 333,472 acres had been reserved for m'ralie plots. When a fence was constructed, only 220 acres of the 333,472 were enclosed, because the sewage farm had encroached on the remainder. Of the enclosed 220 acres, fifty were occupied by location buildings for officials and another 100 were used as a location depositing site. This left only about seventy acres available to residents for cultivation and grazing. Thus one of the few promising aspects of the original plan for the location disappeared. No land was made available to residents for cultivation, either on the limited area that remained, or on the many acres of municipal land that lay waste not even two miles from the location. Nor was any land set aside specifically for the grazing of residents' cattle, and the rights to the grazing land that was available were let to farmers in the neighbourhood for 4d. per head per day.

Within the location a number of residents nevertheless bred stock on a small scale and they kept their cattle near their houses. Many also made use of the grazing land let to farmers, by cutting the fence and sending in their cattle. After sunset, all cattle had to be enclosed, and a kraal was provided for this purpose just opposite the location offices. If any cattle wandered beyond the boundaries of the location, or were found by the Location Superintendent wandering around between sunrise and sunset, they were impounded. In 1918 a son of the Ethiopian Minister, Henry Reed Ngcalya, rescued some cattle from the District Pound. When he was charged in court, his lawyer proved that animals from within a Municipality had to be sent to a municipal pound. (31) As a result, from 1918 impounded cattle were sent to the Springfield Municipal Pound, fifteen miles from Klipspruit Location. Cattleowners then had to go to Springfield

(31) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, J.H. Robson - Town Clerk, 15.3.1919.

to have their cattle released - at a cost of 6s. per head, plus driving fee.⁽³²⁾

The abattoirs were in Johannesburg, and the strict enforcement of the bye-law that "no person, except for his own or his family's consumption shall slaughter within the Municipal Area elsewhere than in the Municipal Abattoir, any animal the flesh of which is intended for the food of man",⁽³³⁾ meant that cattleowners had to drive their animals to their abattoirs nearly ten miles away, pay charges there and then pay again for the hire of wagons to transport the meat back to the location. The extra costs involved, together with the loss of time, kept the price of meat high, and, in the summer months, the quality was adversely affected. To make matters even worse, once Chas. V. James became Location Superintendent in 1913 he allowed his friends to have their animals killed in the location or wherever they wished.

Municipal policy also led to hardship for traders in the location. First they had to pay £1.8.0 for a trading stand. Secondly, their businesses were hampered by the enforcement of the Shop Hours Act, since many residents only returned to the location after the shops of traders had closed. As a result many residents did their buying in town. Thirdly, in spite of a bye-law prohibiting "any person other than a Native or Coloured person of South African origin from trading in the location",⁽³⁴⁾ local traders had to face competition from white farmers. The Municipal Council turned down all applications from white traders to trade in the location, but white farmers then entered the location, sold their produce and bread there, and delivered milk daily.⁽³⁵⁾ As in Alexandra, this and the fact that whites were the wholesalers who

(32) Report of the Committee to Investigate Grievances of Natives in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.3.

(33) Public Health Bye-laws, Ordinance No. 11 (Private) 1906, section 2(1).

(34) Bye-laws for Native Locations, clause 29.

(35) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, Record of Meeting, 22.7.1909, p.5.

supplied traders in the location, ensured white control over trade in Klipspruit.

Washboys in Klipspruit Location paid 3s. per month for accommodation and 5s. per month for a licence. The Municipal Council provided reinforced washing-bins with corrugated marble slabs on which the clothes could be washed. Each washing-bin had a waterpipe with a clean water supply. The Municipal Council also provided a wringing-room and an ironing-room with cement floors. (36)

Generally conditions were anything but satisfactory. As a spokesman for the washboys stated at a meeting of representatives of the Parks and Estates Committee, the Department of Native Affairs, and residents of Klipspruit Location:

We are in trouble. We had less trouble where we were before. Our road is closed. We are sleeping in the Location and there is a fence which makes the road to the Location very long. Sewage is led all round the wash site. We have to complain about the train. It is now 20 years since we have been in Johannesburg. We were moved from the first place to Klipriver and we then travelled by rail free. Here we pay for huts. We hang up our clothes but we were not told that the grass around was to be burned. We want to know why the Government is teasing us in this way. We made a complaint about these matters and we thought there would be an improvement. The sewage is allowed to run all over the farm. We were told that if we go through the ploughing to get to the Location we would be arrested. They have ploughed the ground which we require for drying our clothes. We have now to pay 1/- for carts taking our clothes to the station as the drivers say the road is so long. We used to pay only 6d. for these carts.

Formerly we had our huts close to the wash site. Mr. Lloyd (Superintendent of the Location) knew that the ground was to be ploughed, but he brought us to this place. Since the ploughing the clothes had all to be spread in one place and often got mixed. We are paying too much money. (37)

(36) Council Minutes, 1907, p.97.

(37) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, Record of Meeting, 22.7.1909, p.8.

In addition, the absence of gates at different points in the fence around the location caused them further inconvenience and expense, since, in order to avoid the depositing site, they had to take a very roundabout route through the location. Furthermore there was a real danger of infection to residents of Johannesburg, since some of the drying lines were within a few feet of the sewage farm.

Besides washboys - in 1909 there were 168 men and four women engaged in washing in the location⁽³⁸⁾ - Klipspruit Location had a number of self-employed Africans. The general stores, butcheries, bakeries and dairies in the location had all been established, and were run, by Africans. Some residents had worked for white or Coloured artisans, and in this way, had acquired skills such as bricklaying, carpentry and shoemaking, which they now put to use in the location. Klipspruit Location also had its business tycoons. One of these richer men was Joseph Sibiyi, who had left Natal to seek work in Johannesburg. After a few years in the employ of Frasers and Chalmers Ltd., a firm involved in construction and the manufacture of mining and engineering equipment, he established his own grocery, bakery, butchery and transport business in Klipspruit Location.⁽³⁹⁾

Klipspruit Location included an active educated and professional component. It numbered amongst its residents some well-known figures. One such man was Thomas Levi Mvabaza, a journalist. From 1910 he was the manager of the English-African weekly newspaper, Umlomo wa Bantu and in 1913 he became the managing-director of the newspaper, Abantu-Batho. He was a member of the deputation that travelled to England in 1919 to protest against the Native Land Act of 1913. Also, he had a store and property at

(38) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 7.1909.

(39) African Who's Who, 1966, p.57.

Klipspruit.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In addition there were clergymen and teachers in the location. In 1917, besides two white teachers, there were eight African teachers working in Klipspruit Location. Most of the teachers came from beyond the borders of the Transvaal, and had been educated at Healdtown, Lovedale College or in Lesotho. What is particularly significant is that many of those prominent in activities in the location chose to live in areas beyond the control of the Municipal Council of Johannesburg, such as Kliptown and Evaton where they could own land.

The Rev. Edward Tsewu from Grahamstown, one of the men who negotiated with the Municipal Council of Johannesburg over the removal of Africans from the "Kaffir" Location to Klipspruit, subsequently chose to live in Kliptown himself.⁽⁴¹⁾ F. Edward Venna, originally from the Middelburg District of the Cape, was an independent carpenter and builder. He too chose to live in Kliptown.⁽⁴²⁾ Similarly Thomas B. Ntlebi, also originally from the Cape, became the manager of the white-owned E.C. Lanes Store in Fordsburg. In 1903 he opened his own store in Vrededorp. Two years later he opened a similar business in Klipspruit Location and he subsequently bought a number of properties in Kliptown and Evaton.⁽⁴³⁾ He too chose to reside outside the location. One can thus conclude that it was generally only those who had no choice who lived in the location. This, more than any other evidence, is a clear indication of what Africans thought of the choice made for them by the Municipal Council that they should reside in a location. It also points to a definite break in the social continuity of the non-manual workers active in the location. The wealthiest and most educated formed what can be termed an "upper" class and divorced themselves from fellow non-manual workers in the location who formed a "middle" class.

(40) African Who's Who, 1966, p.80, and the African Yearly Register, 1932, p.221.

(41) African Who's Who, 1966, p.79.

(42) African Who's Who, 1966, p.81.

(43) African Who's Who, 1966, p.57.

Most of the men who lived in the location were employed in Johannesburg in industry and commerce. The majority of single men preferred to live in town, and after the opening of the Salisbury and Jubilee Compound in 1913, the quarters that were provided by the Municipal Council for single men in Klipspruit Location were, by and large, empty. (44)

In 1915 the population in Klipspruit Location totalled about 3 000 (800 men, 900 women and 1 300 children). (45) Bearing in mind that some of the men were single, and that since the number of women was greater than that of the men, some of these women must also have been single. It can be concluded that, on the average, each man was responsible for providing for three people. His essential expenses in a month of four weeks may therefore be listed as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Railway		8	6
Rent		12	0
Hut Tax		1	8
Candles		3	0
Wood (3d per day)		7	6
Coal (1 bag a week)		10	0
Sugar ($\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per day)		5	0
Tea		1	3
Meat (2-3 times a week)		6	0
Vegetables (4 times a week)		2	0
Bread ($\frac{1}{2}$ a loaf per person per week)			0
Mealie Meal		5	0
Lunch in town (6d. per day)		13	0
School fees		1	0
Church fees		3	0
	5	3	11 (46)

(44) Council Minutes, 1918, p.1917.

(45) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the year 1.7.1914 - 30.6.1915, p.39.

(46) Calculated from Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, The Native in Industry, p.2, and Report of the Wages Committee, 19.8.1921.

Since the average male African employed in Johannesburg earned £5 per month, it was essential that his income was supplemented by that of his wife. This was necessary in order that he could buy articles such as clothing, bedding, furniture and crockery.

It was not easy for African women to find work. Men were employed for many of the lighter tasks, such as washing, as nurses for babies or as domestic servants. Furthermore it was uneconomic for women resident in Klipspruit Location to work in Johannesburg. They rarely earned more than 2s. a day,⁽⁴⁷⁾ and from this they had to pay 6d. for their railway fares. As a result women tended to fall back on the brewing of beer, and illicit liquor dealing thrived in the location. (The possession of malt was not in itself a crime, but when made into porridge or beer, possession constituted a crime.)

It is evident that most Africans in the location lived on budgets that were stretched to the limit. It is therefore hardly surprising that when an unexpected expense, for example, a medical one, occurred, or if there was a loss of employment, residents were frequently unable to continue the payments on leases. It was not possible for Africans to buy land in the location, and stands were obtainable on a thirty-three year lease or on a monthly basis.⁽⁴⁸⁾

In 1905 the Municipal Council had announced that it was its intention to encourage Africans to build their own homes in the location, and to take in lodgers. However, over the years, more and more Africans had found themselves unable to maintain their payments, with the result that the Municipal Council embarked on a policy of buying houses that had formerly been owned by individual

(47) Rand Daily Mail, 17.6.1919. "Kaffir" beer that could have an alcoholic content of up to 13 per cent is being referred to. See p.139.

(48) Council Minutes, 1905, pp. 1158-9.

residents, and by 1919, few homes in the location remained free of municipal ownership. (49)

With the thought constantly in the back of their minds that eventually the Municipal Council would probably acquire ownership of their houses, it is hardly surprising that residents took little pride in them. In any event, few of the houses were really worth caring about. There was the very exceptional instance where residents had built a house worth over £200, (50) but, generally speaking, the value of homes in Klipspruit Location ranged from £1 to £45. (51)

Most families in the location lived in the municipally-built V-shaped huts. These were no more than an iron roof placed on the ground. In the summer months they were very hot to live in. In the winter months, moisture oozed through the floor and in many cases they leaked. (52) For the use of these "huts" the charge was 6s. per month.

Conditions within Klipspruit Location were certainly not pleasant. In the period 1914-1915 the general death-rate was 20 per 100, the infant mortality rate 380 per 1000. Whooping cough and enteritis were rife, and there was also the occasional case of malaria. In the same period the death-rate for Johannesburg as a whole was 1 per 100, and the Coloured infantile mortality rate 1000. (53) That official figures were no higher than those for the rest of Johannesburg is certainly no mitigating factor, particularly when one bears in mind the slum conditions existing in various parts of Johannesburg. The location, after all, was intended to be

(49) Report of the Committee to Investigate Grievances of Natives in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.6.

(50) The Star, 4.9.1920.

(51) Report of the Committee to Investigate Grievances of Natives in Nancefield Location, 1919, Annexure 1, p.1.

(52) The Star, 16.9.1919.

(53) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the period 1.7.1914 - 30.6.1915, p.39.

the showpiece of African places of residence. Furthermore in considering the situation in Klipspruit Location, it is necessary to point out that Africans from along the Reef, and even further afield, frequently entered the location to live with relatives and friends. Such residents were not registered, and if one took into account the deaths, for example, of such illegal residents, the figures would undoubtedly be higher. In fact, at one stage, in the middle of 1915, infantile mortality and fever reached such proportions that even the Municipal Council began to consider the possibility of moving residents from Klipspruit Location. (54)

It is therefore hardly surprising that many who had the choice elected not to live in the location. Activities within the location were severely limited. No person other than an employee of the Municipal Council, or a police officer, was allowed in the streets between 10.00 p.m. and 4.00 a.m., unless he or she was in possession of written permission from the Location Superintendent, or his or her employer. (55) There was thus little hope for evening entertainment. As for social activities during the day, there was a tennis court about a hundred yards from the Wesleyan Church, (56) but it has not been possible to ascertain whether this was available for the use of all residents in the location.

Nevertheless, in evaluating Klipspruit Location, a number of positive points come to mind. The most outstanding was the opening of the "Government School for Natives" in 1908. This was the first such school to be opened in the Transvaal, and it provided for scholars up to standard VI. In the lower classes the vernacular was used, but in standard VI the medium of instruction

(54) The Star, 9.6.1915.

(55) Bye-laws for Native Locations, clause 49.

(56) Rand Daily Mail, 16.6.1919.

was English. The school also catered for cultural activities: it had its own school choir,⁽⁵⁷⁾ as well as games such as tennis and cricket.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Residents had also established a few private schools. One, for example, was conducted in the municipal married quarters. Here in 1910, a teacher taught English and Zulu reading to fifteen boys,⁽⁵⁹⁾ at a fee of 2s. per month, twice as much as the fee charged for tuition in the Government School. That such private schools were able to survive provides further evidence that a class structure was beginning to emerge within the African community in Klipspruit Location. Unfortunately, no figures are available as to the number of children attending private schools.

By 1916 some 349 children resident in the location were attending a school.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Assuming that about half of the 1 300 children under sixteen years of age in the location were between six and fourteen years old and of school-going age, one concludes that about 55 per cent were attending school. Over the years the number of children attending school increased so rapidly that in 1918 the Superintendent of Locations commented that the "eagerness of the Natives in having their children educated has become a remarkable feature within the last few years".⁽⁶¹⁾

In addition to its schools, Klipspruit Location had its churches. Christian denominations such as the Wesleyan Methodists, for example, had their churches in the location. It was, however, the Ethiopian Church that was particularly successful. Although outwardly

(57) Rand Daily Mail, 25.11.1920.

(58) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, A.T.Buchan, Manager, Estates Department, 27.9.1920.

(59) U.G. 15-1911, p.102.

(60) Council Minutes, 1915-1916, p.78.

(61) Council Minutes, 1917-1918, p.72.

religious, it was to a large extent political in appeal and represents an attempt on the part of Christian Africans to set up their own churches independent of the white denominations. Wells states its aim as being

to plant a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating Native Church, which would produce a truly African type of Christianity, suited to the genius and needs of the race, and not be merely a copy of any European Church. (62)

When members of the community in the location found themselves unable to become leaders in a particular aspect of life, they branched off and formed "religions" of their own. As a result a number of different churches sprang up in the location. One, for example, was the Gaza Church founded by Henry Reed Ngcayiya.

Ngcayiya had been ordained a priest of the African Methodist Episcopalian Church in 1898. On leaving that Church, he had become a member of the priesthood of the Ethiopian Church and had subsequently founded the Gaza Church in Klipspruit Location.⁽⁶³⁾ So successful were these churches that were not necessarily associated with any white-controlled church or religion, that at one stage the Municipal Council seriously considered introducing measures aimed at preventing them from functioning in Klipspruit Location. Heather Hughes states that "most adherents of the Ethiopian Church belonged to the black middle class",⁽⁶⁴⁾ and since most of the so-called upper class resided beyond the boundaries of the location, the increasing support for these churches indicates a steady increase in the numbers of the middle class, those engaged in non-manual occupations in the location.

(62) James Wells : Stewart of Lovedale, pp.287-299. Quoted in G.C.Oosthuizen : Post-Christianity in Africa, p.33.

(63) NA 133, 325/1913/F243, Acting Assistant Director of the Government Native Labour Bureau - The Natal Agent, Edward Wilson, 12.2.1910.

(64) Religion and Education in the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa, 1892-1953, p.46.

Further facilities available in the location included a fairly regular medical service,⁽⁶⁵⁾ a cemetery and a post office that was manned by a white postmaster.

As for the community itself, it is worth noting that despite a steady increase in the number of residents in the location, there was no corresponding increase in the number arrested by police stationed at the Klipspruit Police Station. In 1910 they were responsible for the arrests of 971 Africans. By 1912, this figure had decreased to 608, and in 1914 only 426 were arrested.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Although the manufacture and sale of illicit liquor was a major occupation in the location, the degree of drunkenness there was evidently not of great significance.⁽⁶⁷⁾ In fact police activity in Klipspruit Location tended to concentrate on searches for Africans without passes, rather than on the more conventional forms of crime. In any event, the police were in no position to combat such crime.

Until 1909 two types of policemen, municipal and government police, were active in the location. The municipal police were Africans employed by the Municipal Council at a salary of £20.5.0 per month, in addition to their food and passes.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Theoretically the maintenance of law and order in the location was their responsibility. The government police, some of whom were white, were supposedly responsible for conditions and activities in the district surrounding the location. In practice, they too entered Klipspruit Location, where they assumed their usual police activity. That they did so can be explained by the lack of adequate legal powers on

(65) See p.64.

(66) Council Minutes, 1915-1916, p.78.

(67) S.C. 3-1923, p.33.

(68) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, Special Meeting of Parks and Estates Committee, 8.5.1908.

the part of municipal police, when it came to dealing with conventional crimes such as theft, illicit liquor dealing, or drunkenness.

The bye-laws for native locations gave the "Superintendent or any servant of the Council authorised by him, or any Police Officer", the right at all times to "access to all stands and huts and buildings and every part thereof" within the Location, for the purposes of inspection", adding that "no person shall at any time obstruct him or them in such inspection, or refuse or interfere with such access as aforesaid." (69) No mention was made of any powers of arrest and municipal police therefore had no legal recognition in courts of law.

Following complaints of unnecessary harassment of residents in the location by the government police, the legal position was invoked, and from 1909 they were no longer permitted to enter the location. Thus, when in 1918 a wave of housebreaking and theft swept the location, the authorities were powerless. (70) It was indeed fortunate that conventional crime in the location was generally minimal, and while no actual figures exist to support the statement, there is no evidence of dissatisfaction or cause for complaint on the part of residents.

The municipal police were employed largely for the purpose of dealing with pass offenders, and in this respect, they had the power of arrest. In terms of the General Pass Regulations,

Officers of the Native Affairs Department and native police employed by the Government or Municipal Authorities shall have the power to arrest any native suspected or charged with any offence against these regulations with or without a warrant. (71)

(69) Clause 47.

(70) JUS 265, 3/619/18, J.H. Robson, Acting Superintendent of Locations - Minister of Justice, 26.7.1918.

(71) Proclamation No. 18 of 1903, clause 7(4).

It could be claimed that life in Klipspruit Location was certainly tolerable. Yet it is significant that the one and only period that witnessed a slight decrease in the population of the location, the year 1917, followed the decision of the Municipal Council not to prosecute Africans for living in town without permits.⁽⁷²⁾ That Klipspruit Location did not meet the needs of the large proportion of Africans who were employed in Johannesburg is a fact that cannot be escaped. The location was simply too far from the town. Most residents started work at 8.00 a.m., and since the train from the location arrived in town at about 7.00 a.m., they were compelled to linger about for almost an hour. In the afternoons the situation was similar. Furthermore, there were many whose hours of employment prevented them from residing in the location.

Nevertheless, by 1923 the population of the location numbered 3 800.⁽⁷³⁾ Well over half the houses in the location were owned by the Municipal Council, as were all huts and single room accommodation. Within the location, there were thirty-five trading-stores, all conducted by Africans. Stockbreeding survived on a limited scale, but cultivation was non-existent.

Therefore, in evaluating Klipspruit Location as a whole, one can conclude that, while physical distance kept it separated from the town of Johannesburg, it was certainly not a self-contained community. As an area for a labour reserve for the commerce and industry of Johannesburg it was also a failure. Thus when the Municipal Council considered the provision of further housing accommodation for Africans, an overriding concern was that such quarters should be established within easy access of the centres of work. It was with this in mind that Western Native Township was established in 1918, five miles from the centre of Johannesburg.

(72) Council Minutes, 1916-1917, p.85.

(73) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, 19.6.1923.

Western Native Township was linked to Johannesburg by a daily tram service. The tram cars, built especially for this service, were exposed to wind and rain at the sides of the upper decks. There were no trams between 8.45 a.m. and 5.00 p.m. on weekdays, so that women and children returning from school had to return to the township on foot. Similarly, since there were no trams after 9.00 p.m. on Saturdays, those who worked late in town on Saturdays were not catered for. The fare was half that paid by residents in Klipspruit Location, but even this 2d. each way⁽⁷⁴⁾ accounted for about 10 per cent of the £5 wage that the average resident earned.

The essential services provided in Western Native Township by the Municipal Council were a decided improvement over those in Klipspruit Location. There were water taps at convenient intervals throughout the township, and a regular refuse removal service. The township itself was well-maintained, and the Township Inspector was responsible for seeing that adequate standards of cleanliness prevailed.

These standards extended into the homes of residents. Homes were generally neat, clean and well-maintained. Most interiors were furnished and decorated in imitation of European styles. Many had polished sideboards, with crockery, glasses and vases, brass bedsteads, eiderdowns and pillow cases. Most walls and mantelpieces were adorned with pictures and photographs, while curtains and blinds generally hung before windows.

Further services provided by the Municipal Council for residents of Western Native Township included the appointment, from the 1st November 1919, of Dr. J. Croghan as Medical Officer for the township at a fee of £5.5.0 per month,⁽⁷⁵⁾ the provision of a clothes-washing site with open concrete washing slabs for twenty-four users,⁽⁷⁶⁾

(74) Council Minutes, 1918, p.463.

(75) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year 1919-1920, p.11.

(76) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year 1919-1920, p.11.

and the opening of a police post in 1921.⁽⁷⁷⁾

The need to establish a police post should not necessarily be seen as an indication of lawlessness on the part of residents of the township. The need for the police in their role of guardians of law and order was, with the exceptions of week-ends, rarely felt in the township. Over week-ends, Western Native Township served as a meeting-place for Africans from town, and it was at these times that drunkenness and rowdiness tended to come to the fore. At one stage, in December, 1923, the situation became so bad that the tram service on Sundays between Johannesburg and Western Native Township was withdrawn, and the Tramway Manager threatened similar action in relation to the Saturday afternoon service.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Initially the form of entertainment provided in Western Native Township on Sundays was music played by a Salvation Army Band. In 1921 a recreation ground for residents was laid out in the township at a cost to the Municipal Council of nearly £300,⁽⁷⁹⁾ and in addition, residents had the use of the football fields that adjoined the township.

One detects a definite change in the attitude of the Municipal Council in relation to Western Native Township, as opposed to Klipspruit Location. The principle of physically separating the township from the rest of Johannesburg was maintained and emphasised by the construction of a galvanised iron fence around the township in 1922. This was in accordance with a promise made to residents of adjacent areas in 1909

that the proposed location be surrounded
by a galvanised iron fence - not wire -
with a height to be not less than eight

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- (77) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year 1919-1920, p.67.
- (78) Minutes of the Parks and Estates Committee, Tramway Manager - Town Clerk, p.22.
- (79) Minute of the Mayor for the Mayoral Year 1920-1921, p.68.

feet, with entrances to be limited to the smallest number, and, as far as possible, to open on the Main Road in order to be under police observation. (80)

Where one detects a definite change is that the features providing for permanent settlement were not made available. Four years after the establishment of the township not one school had yet been built. In contrast to the situation in Klipspruit Location, no business stands had been made available to residents. Since there were no shops in the township, residents supported the Indian-owned shops that were opened on the Newclare side of the township.⁽⁸¹⁾ Most significant of all is that, although the population in Western Native Township in 1923 numbered 1 700 people,⁽⁸²⁾ and over 300 houses had been provided to accommodate them, not one person had been given the right to build his or her own house.

Since only the first few years of the existence of Western Native Township have been considered, all conclusions reached must be highly tentative. Nevertheless, it would appear that the township was intended to be little more than a place of residence for a labour reserve for the commerce and industry of the town of Johannesburg.

The alternative form of accommodation provided by the Municipal Council, the compound, certainly fits this description. Two types of compounds were built. There were those that housed municipal employees exclusively, and there were compounds that were, in effect, lodging-houses for African workers.

Compounds were not originally designed for any ulterior motive, but had developed from the "kampong" or "kumpun", the Malay word meaning a hutment or an

(80) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, 29.5.1923.

(81) The Star, 13.12.1921.

(82) Report of Housing Sub-Committee, p.4.

enclosure.⁽⁸³⁾ Although early municipal compounds were precisely this, low iron huts and camps of tents,⁽⁸⁴⁾ the decision to house African workers in compounds was an adoption of a practice developed by mine-owners in Kimberley and continued on the Witwatersrand gold mines, that enabled employers to control and discipline their labour forces.

From 1915 compounds such as the New Native Compound at the Smit Street Depot were designed in the manner of the "Rand Mines" type of hut. The basic structure consisted of a large brick building that enclosed a quadrangle. This large brick building consisted of a series of rooms, each about 625 sq. ft. Around the sides of each room there were two tiers of wooden bunks, thirty feet and upwards in length. The quadrangle served as a space for recreation and it also housed the steam-heated cooking plant. In addition baths and wash-houses, a water-borne system of sewerage and hot water installations, were provided.

Although this was the basic design of compounds built after 1915, conditions at the different compounds differed greatly. The Smit Street Compound built in 1915 to accommodate 1 100 workers housed Africans employed in the Department of the Town Engineer. The Report of the Housing Sub-Committee of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives published in 1921, describes it as follows:

It can truly be stated a model. The area is .92 of an acre and it is built on the dormitory system. Each dormitory accommodated 40 boys. The rooms are arranged round a quadrangle with a wide verandah; each room is well-ventilated and heated by a complete system of hot water installation by means of radiators. There is also an up-to-date cooking plant and the sanitary arrangements leave nothing to be desired. The only defect is the lack of a

(83) G.A.Leyds : A History of Johannesburg, p.281.

(84) Council Minutes, 1915-1916, p.33.

large area for sport and recreation to which the Manager of the compound told us the Natives quickly respond. This Compound reflects great credit on all concerned. (85)

On the other hand, its description of the Natal Spruit Compound that provided accommodation for Africans employed in the Sanitary Department, was very different. It remarked:

This Compound adjoins the Destructor and has from 300 to 330 boys. The area of the building is given as 545 square feet, that is 109 ft. by 5 ft. The main portion of the building is three storeys in height and cannot be described as anything but a slum; the existence of such a compound is a disgrace to the town, and should be allowed to remain for such time as a new compound built on the same site on the adjoining ground takes to erect.... In the case of a fire the building would be a death trap for the natives living in the upper storeys of the building. (86)

Whether or not one agrees with the sentiments expressed is irrelevant. The point to note is that physical conditions varied from compound to compound. The Kosherville and Concordia Compounds, for example, were situated fairly close to night soil trenches, so that in warm weather they were infested with flies. (87)

Common to all municipally-employed Africans was treatment in a hospital built and reserved especially for their use. The brick and stone building was constructed in 1905, with accommodation for sixteen men, and it was centrally situated in the centre of the compound in Vrededorp. (88)

The compounds intended for Africans employed in commerce and industry were designed on the same basic plan. Since such compounds were intended to serve

(85) P.3.

(86) P.3.

(87) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1.7.1906-30.6.1909, p.61.

(88) Council Minutes, 1905, p.27.

the needs of those whose hours of work were such that they could not live in Klipspruit Location, they remained open day and night. thus serving the needs of employers who desired their employees to work hours other than those of the average worker. Those resident in these compounds were not free to come and go as they pleased, but were subject to all the restrictions of the pass laws.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Thus, for example, those wishing to attend meetings after 9.00 p.m. had to obtain special night passes from the Chief Pass Officer several days in advance.⁽⁹⁰⁾

One such compound was the Salisbury and Jubilee Compound opened in 1913.⁽⁹¹⁾ This could accommodate 1 200 Africans. Most of this accommodation was taken up by Africans residing in the Compound on a monthly basis at a rate of 5s. per month.⁽⁹²⁾ Some of these were independent tradesmen, a number of whom worked at their occupations in the compound and found their customers amongst fellow-residents. Cobblers and workers in brass and copper wire made bracelets or bound ornamental covers to sjamboks and walking-sticks. Snuff vendors pounded leaves of tobacco, or calcined dried aloe leaves that they then mixed with the powdered tobacco.⁽⁹³⁾ Then, of course, there were the usual liquor smugglers and sellers, and, unique to the Salisbury and Jubilee Compound, was the occupation of meat peddler. Since there was no cookhouse at this particular compound, residents cooked their own food, and under the pretext of having friends for a meal, African meat peddlars turned their compound rooms into eating-houses.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Besides those accommodated individually, groups were provided for on a monthly basis. Many firms in

(89) See pp.119-121.

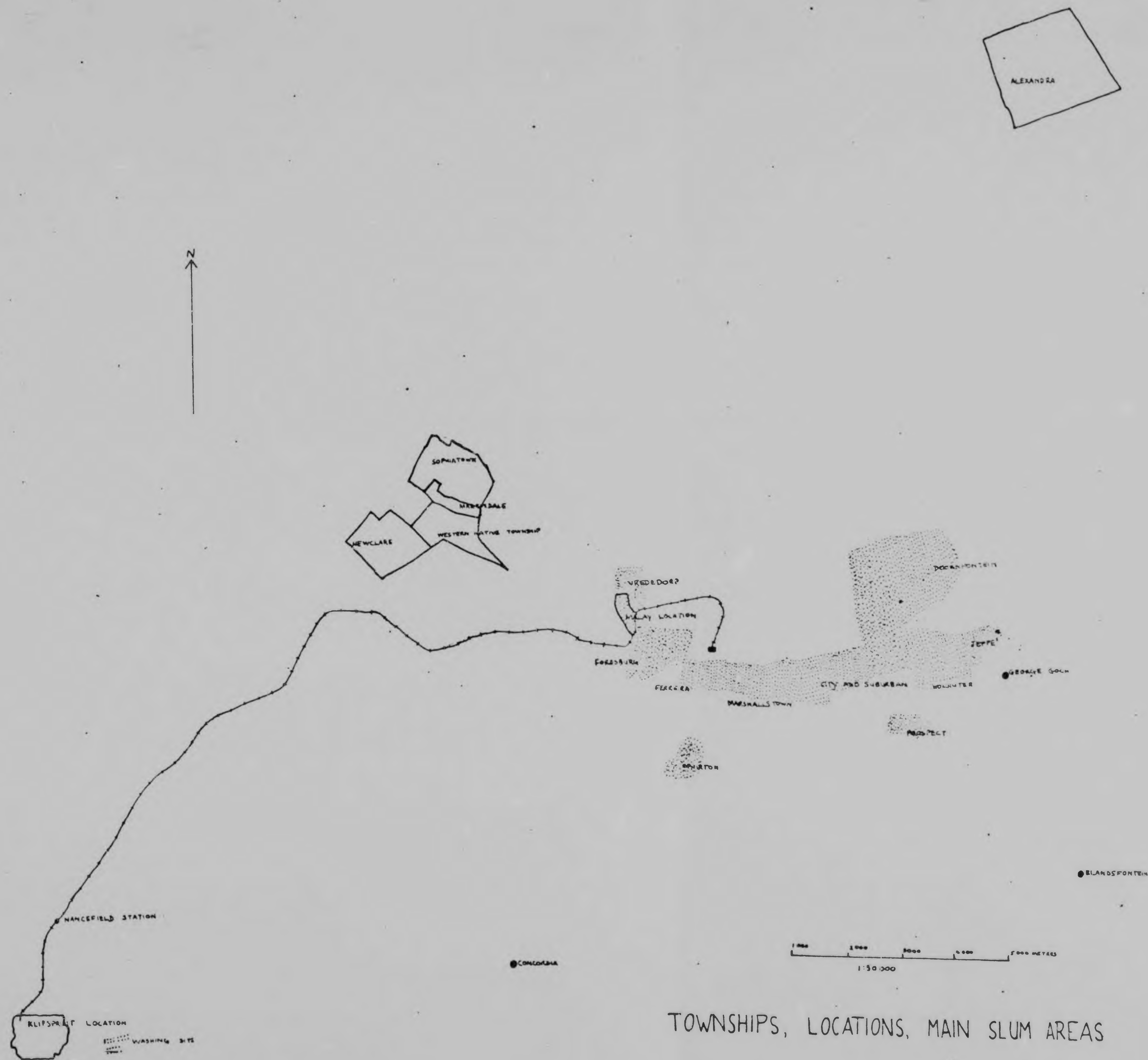
(90) Night Passes Ordinance, No. 43 of 1902.

(91) See p. 70.

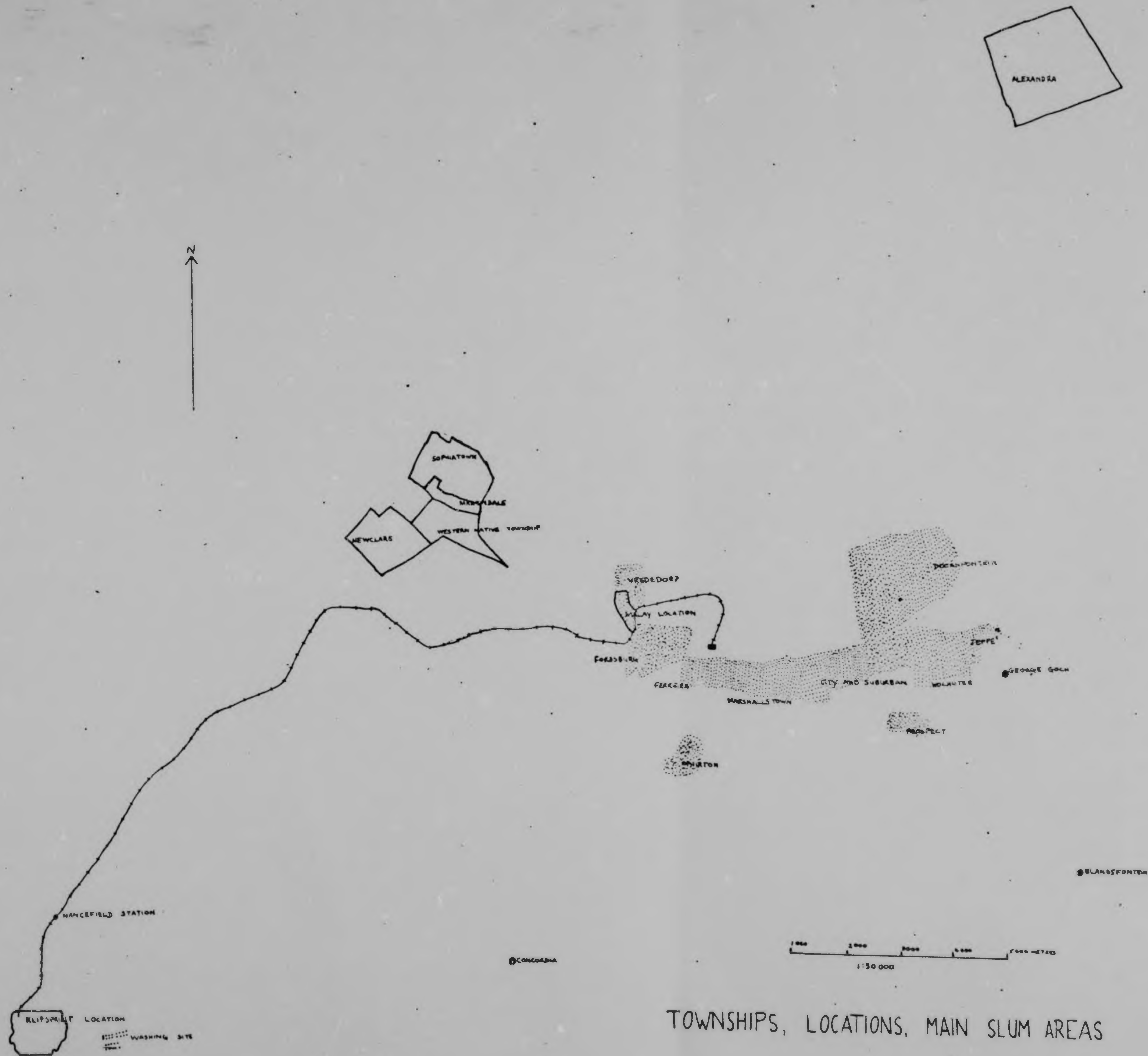
(92) See Appendix B, p.187.

(93) Leader, 8.3.1915.

(94) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, 19.6.1923.



TOWNSHIPS, LOCATIONS, MAIN SLUM AREAS



town abandoned the practice of maintaining private compounds and arranged for their African employees to be housed in compounds such as the Salisbury and Jubilee Compound, or the Wemmer Compound that was opened in 1919.⁽⁹⁵⁾ This is hardly surprising, since the residence of African employees in such compounds enabled employers to derive the advantages of compound labour, in particular, a highly effective system of control and supervision, without having to accept responsibilities.

Such compounds also catered for visitors and new seekers of employment in Johannesburg, providing accommodation on a basis of 3d. per night.⁽⁹⁶⁾ In the first three years of the existence of the Salisbury and Jubilee Compound alone, this facility was made use of by over 30 482 Africans.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Despite such figures it is apparent that this form of compound accommodation of the type generally provided for Africans on the mines, was contrary to the mode of living adopted by Africans who had grown accustomed to town life. When the Public Health Committee of the Municipal Council of Johannesburg issued a notice stating that

On and after 1st January, 1923, any single Native who, in contravention of the Bye-laws, is living elsewhere than in a compound or on his European employer's premises, will be liable to prosecution,

the practical effect was nil.⁽⁹⁸⁾ As a group of representatives stated to the Medical Officer of Health, they had to some extent

adopted European modes of living, possess their own furniture, value privacy, and are prepared to pay for more acceptable housing: also that there is little discrimination exercised as regards the various classes of natives who are housed therein: that the risk to individual

(95) See p.77.

(96) See Appendix B, p.187.

(97) Council Minutes, 18.7.1916, p.467.

(98) Fa 9, File no. 955, Housing of Natives, 21.1.1923, p.1.

property in the large compound-rooms is very considerable: and that the compounds in question ought to be reconstructed to meet these objections". (99)

Thus, by 1923, residential accommodation for Africans in Johannesburg and its surroundings, was possible in the privately-established townships of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare, as well as in Alexandra, beyond the municipal boundaries. In addition, the Municipal Council provided housing accommodation for 3 000 Africans in Klipspruit Location, 2 050 in Western Native Township, 750 in both the Wemmer Compound and in the Salisbury and Jubilee Compound, as well as accommodation for the 4 - 5 000 Africans that it employed. Therefore, 10 - 11 050 Africans were provided with accommodation as a result of municipal activity.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ According to estimates supplied by the Medical Officer of Health, this still obliged anything from 9 - 12 000 Africans to find their own accommodation in town.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

(99) Fa 9, File No. 955, Housing of Natives, 26.1.1923, p.2.

(100) S.C. 3-1923, p.2.

(101) S.C. 3-1923, p.2.



A Ferreirastown Courtyard.

(Macmillan, A. : The Golden City. Johannesburg,
1933, p.301)



NANCEFIELD, undated
(Johannesburg Public Library, Africana Picture
Collection)



ALEXANDRA, 1914

(Johannesburg Public Library, Africana Picture
Collection)

CHAPTER V

CONTROL

By 1923 the population of Johannesburg included 150 311 whites, 6 214 Asiatics and 11 351 mixed and other Coloured.⁽¹⁾ In addition, there were, excluding those employed on the mines, over 65 000 Africans in Johannesburg.⁽²⁾ Its population, excluding mine-workers, was thus in the region of 233 000.

In order to ensure the continued development of this community, the prosperity of Johannesburg as an industrial and commercial centre was of vital importance, and a system that aimed at the control and supervision of the labouring class, including the Africans, was introduced. This operated on two levels. First there was the official enforcement of an elaborate system of laws, and secondly, there was an unofficial level which saw the introduction of particular practices that aimed to pacify and hence to control.

As a starting-point, a system of passes was enforced. In 1901 a proclamation was issued giving the Administrator of the Transvaal the right to regulate the entry of Africans into the Transvaal and the right to regulate their movements from place to place in the Transvaal.⁽³⁾ This proclamation covered the movements of any male over fourteen years of age, both of whose parents were members of some aboriginal race or tribe, and, in terms of it, Africans had to be in possession of a pass in order to enter or leave the Transvaal. The three

(1) U.G. 47-1923, p.65. This includes those resident in Alexandra.

(2) See p.177.

(3) Transvaal Colony Proclamations, Proclamation No. 37 of 1901.

exceptions to this ruling were African police or messengers for the period while they were in the service of the government (provided that they were in possession of a certificate of employment signed by the head of the department to which they belonged), African driver leaders or personal attendants employed by a European (engaged in a task for him or her, and in possession of a pass signed by such an employer) and Africans who were granted a letter of exemption or registration certificate by the Commissioner for Native Affairs.⁽⁴⁾ In 1903 this proclamation was amended to include Africans who had always resided in the Transvaal.⁽⁵⁾ In the years that followed further proclamations and government notices were promulgated to tighten the system of control through the use of passes.⁽⁶⁾

Thus all Africans travelling in the Transvaal required passes and those who were granted passes outside the Transvaal had to have them endorsed at the pass office nearest their point of entry. Within the Transvaal passes were issued at the pass office or by any employer. Each pass was dated and the purpose for which it was issued was stated on the pass. As a further measure of control a pass was a prerequisite for a railway ticket and was required to be produced when demanded by proper officials. Failure to produce the necessary pass, or failure to comply with the direction of travel indicated in it, could lead to arrest as a vagrant.⁽⁷⁾

(4) Section 10, (a), (b), and (c).

(5) Proclamation 18 of 1903.

(6) These included Proclamations 56 of 1903, 1 of 1905, 82 of 1905, 15 of 1906, 4 of 1907, 23 of 1908, 171 of 1910, 199 of 1911 and 221 of 1913, Government Notices No. 1373 of 1909 as amended by 545 of 1912, and 1428 of 1918, the Urban Areas Native Pass Act No. 18 of 1909, and the Night Passes Ordinance No. 43 of 1902.

(7) U.G. 41-1922, p.30.

Besides these general pass regulations, special provisions were made in respect of Africans in municipal areas. Here the major provision included the necessity to report at the pass office within twenty-four hours of arriving in an urban area and to produce one's travelling pass. Thereupon Africans were allowed six days within which to find work and, within three days of finding work, a contract of service with the employer had to be registered. Should an African fail to find work within six days of the date of issue, or from the date of discharge by his last employer, he was required to return to the pass office and have his "passport" endorsed to return home or to proceed to another area at the discretion of the official. Failure to comply with this regulation, or the act of remaining in the area longer than twenty-four hours after the endorsement of a passport, made the person concerned liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds, or in default of such a payment to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding one month. From 1912, however, passes could be taken out for six months.

Furthermore, Africans were required to take out monthly passes at a charge of one shilling per month. Daily labourers and those who followed independent occupations had to take out a passport, have it filed at the pass office, and pay a registration fee. Thereupon they too, received monthly passes.⁽⁸⁾

These pass laws thus provided some means of regulating the number of male Africans who entered Johannesburg, and, through the Night Passes Ordinance, some control could be exercised over their movements within Johannesburg, since this prohibited an African from being in a public place between the hours of 9.00 p.m. and 4.00 a.m. without a pass from his employer or some person duly authorised to issue such passes.⁽⁹⁾

(8) U.G. 41-1922, p.31. The term, "passport" is often used to refer to a pass that allowed a male African to be in a particular area prior to his finding employment.

(9) No. 43 of 1902.

In 1909 the control and issuing of passes was transferred from the offices of the local authorities to those of the central authorities, which then bore all the costs of administration, and, in return, received all revenue deriving from the pass system.⁽¹⁰⁾ After Union in 1910 this system was continued and it came to be used very much as a means of raising revenue and there was no connection between the number of Africans issued with passes and the number whom Johannesburg could accommodate and provide employment for. This, in fact, was a major cause of the failure of the Municipal Council of Johannesburg to cope adequately with its housing situation. Africans who failed to find employment during the time specified simply had their passes extended until they found employers, while those who did not bother to reapply were, in any event, simply lost sight of by the Department of Native Affairs.⁽¹¹⁾ Yet the central authorities remained reluctant to exercise the legislative controls more effectively.

The development of Johannesburg had been brought about largely by imperial mining and commercial interests and a cheap labour supply was a necessary prerequisite for the growth of local industry. The pass system was a significant element in the maintenance of a cheap labour supply, since it limited the earning capacity of Africans by preventing them from selling their labour to their best advantage. The system compelled them to find work quickly, so that they were forced to accept whatever wage they were offered. The prospective employer, in marking the pass with the wage he intended to pay the employee, was thus the valuator of his labour, so that the value of the labour of the African employee concerned was established within that particular wage bracket.

(10) Act No. 18 of 1909.

(11) T.P. 1-1922, p.48.

As regards African labour, relations between employers and employees were governed mainly by two statutes : the Transvaal Masters' and Servants Law and the Native Labour Regulation Act.⁽¹²⁾ The main relevance of the former lay in the section stating that an African who, "without leave or other lawful means absent(s) himself from his master's premises, or other place proper and appointed for the performance of his work" would face a penalty in the form of a "fine not exceeding £2, or, in default, imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding one month".⁽¹³⁾ Of particular relevance in the Native Labour Regulation Act was the clause stipulating:

Any Native labourer who - a) without lawful cause deserts or absents himself from his place of employment shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding ten pounds, or, in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding two months. ⁽¹⁴⁾

The effectiveness of these laws was clearly demonstrated when, in 1918, Africans employed in the Sanitary Department of the Municipality went on strike, in support of their demands for an increase in the wage paid them. Four who remained steadfast in their refusal to return to work before being granted an increase were, on the grounds that they had broken their contracts, sentenced to two months imprisonment with hard labour.⁽¹⁵⁾ Even when in 1918 the principle of wage-fixing by means of boards in certain trades was introduced with the adoption of the Regulation of Wages, Apprentices and Improvers Act, it applied only to women, and boys and girls under the age of eighteen years.⁽¹⁶⁾ The vast majority of the African labour force was thus effectively excluded.

(12) No. 13 of 1880 and U.G. 15 of 1911.

(13) Chapter V, section 3, penalties class III.

(14) Section XLV.

(15) The Star, 11.6.1918.

(16) U.G. 29-1918.

The system of housing that was introduced by the Municipal Council with its concentrations of Africans in locations and compounds provided an effective physical means of control.⁽¹⁷⁾ Within the confines of locations and compounds, administrative control was the responsibility of the Parks and Estates Committee of the Municipal Council. This Committee appointed a Superintendent of Locations on a monthly salary of £45, and he was directly responsible for the control and supervision of Africans in their places of settlement. He operated from an office in Klipspruit Location, until in July 1919 his headquarters were transferred to the Salisbury and Jubilee Compound. He had a number of lower paid officials to assist him. These included a chief clerk earning £43.13.0 per month, a bookkeeper at £22.50 per month, and other assistants earning between £18.00 and £22.50 a month.⁽¹⁸⁾

The Superintendent was granted the necessary powers to ensure the efficient administration of the system decided upon by the Municipal Council. For example, he established the places for the deposit of rubbish and liquid refuse, and no one was permitted to deposit these elsewhere.⁽¹⁹⁾ It was the Superintendent who granted "Location Permits" to persons over the age of fourteen years giving them the right to reside in a location.⁽²⁰⁾ The Superintendent kept a Location Register of all stands, huts or other buildings in the location, as well as the names and occupations of all persons holding stand-permits or residing in any hut or building, and the number and description of all

(17) See J.Kex : The Compound, The Reserve and the Urban Location : The Essential Institutions of Southern African Labour Exploitation.

(18) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, Special Meeting of Parks and Estates Committee, 8.5.1908.

(19) Bye-Laws for Native Locations, clause 37.

(20) Bye-Laws for Native Locations, clause 31.

animals belonging to every such occupant.⁽²¹⁾

There was one major flaw in this system that provided the physical means of control of African places of residence. The Municipal Council simply did not have sufficient accommodation available to compel all Africans to reside in compounds and locations, and it thus had little option but to introduce the system of issuing permits. Moreover, Africans were able to buy stands in places such as Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare, Alexandra, Evaton and Kliptown, and many leased land owned by others in these areas. The Municipal Council had no legal right to halt these practices, but it made definite attempts to discourage them, for example, by persuading the railway authorities to deny railway facilities to those resident in Kliptown and Evaton, and by allowing the Hut Tax to be remitted only for those resident in municipal accommodation.

Although the powers granted the Superintendent of Locations were clearly set out in the Bye-Laws for Native Locations, much was left to his discretion. After 1919, for example, searches for liquor were made only on the recommendation of the Superintendent himself.⁽²²⁾ As regards actual policy decisions, he was subject to the Municipal Council as a whole. When, for example, difficulties were encountered over arrears of rent, tenants were first visited personally by a location official, and given twenty-four hours notice to pay. While these buildings could not be sold because of unpaid stand licences, they could be sold by public auction for arrear Hut Tax, and in 1908 the Superintendent, W.W. Lloyd, recommended the adoption of a policy of ejectment and sale by public auction. Initially he was restrained by the Municipal Council, and it was only when further attempts to secure

(21) Bye-Laws for Native Locations, clause 20.

(22) Report of the Committee to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.9.

payment proved unsuccessful that the Council agreed to such a policy. The first sale of houses took place in the "Kaffir" Location on the 17th June 1908, and in the Malay Location on the 18th June. (23)

Nevertheless the person appointed as Superintendent of Locations vitally affected the character of the location itself. The fact that searches for liquor were made only on the Superintendent's recommendation placed him in the role of an informer. Dislike and mistrust of the Superintendent personally proved a major grievance of residents in locations. Frequent complaints were made that, in the course of searches,

the Superintendent with the Location police boys, broke into houses by day and night, often in the absence of the occupants, and made arrests himself, ignoring protests and creating a feeling among residents that they were never secure from undue interference in their own homes. (24)

Nevertheless, supervision and control, rather than the personal desires and ambitions of residents, were the major factors motivating decisions affecting the locations. Thus in 1913 W.W. Lloyd, a particularly popular Superintendent, was removed from his position because he had not "exercised sufficient supervision over them, nor has he exercised himself in their interests", as the Government Native Labour Bureau interpreted these. (25)

W.W. Lloyd was replaced by Chas. W. James, who allowed the location residents to elect from among themselves a committee to act as a link between him and the residents. Because of what it termed his "attitude to this committee" when it refused to support

(23) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, Report of Superintendent of Locations, 10.6.1908.

(24) Report of the Committee to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.9.

(25) NA 402, 1085/U6, Acting Director, Government Native Labour Bureau - Secretary for Native Affairs, 1.9.1909, p.5.

his action, it ceased all co-operation with him. (26)
 James thereupon, without any consultation, selected
 and appointed headmen. Not surprisingly these head-
 men were most unpopular with their fellow residents.
 Constant disagreements followed between James and his
 small band of supporters and the majority of residents
 under the leadership of the members of the committee
 they had elected. Whether James had hoped to increase
 his own authority through a policy of divide-and-rule
 is not known, but if so, the policy failed miserably.
 His personality was, in fact, a major factor uniting
 residents in their opposition to the authorities.

Besides the system of laws and the personalities
 of the officials appointed to carry them out, the
 third element that was of significance in the control
 of Africans was the introduction of practices that
 ultimately aided control over those to whom they were
 applied. For example, in 1919 a recreation room was
 completed at the Van Beek Street Compound, and "bioscope"
 entertainment was introduced there. The choice of
 films presented no problem, since on the mine compounds,
 the choice of films was under police control, and only
 films accepted for showing in the mine compounds were
 shown in municipal compounds. This form of enter-
 tainment was subsequently introduced at the municipal
 compounds "as it makes the occupants of compounds more
 contented, and gives them something wholesome to talk
 and think about". (27) Furthermore, it proved a "great
 help to the Compound Manager in maintaining discipline
 and good feeling amongst the natives". (28)

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- (26) Report of the Committee to Investigate Grievances
 in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.8.
 (27) Council Minutes, 1922, vol. 11, p.364.
 (28) Council Minutes, 1919, p.752. For further
 examples see pp.142-3.

Another such practice was the provision of a bread ration at compounds housing municipal employees. This cost the Municipality 4³/₄d. per pound. (In comparison, the cost to mines such as the Ferreira Deep, City Deep and Crown Mines, that had established their own bakeries, was 1¹/₄d.- 1³/₄d. per pound. These mines supplied their workers with bread, consisting of 80 per cent mealie meal, and 20 per cent wheaten meal.)⁽²⁹⁾ The Municipal Council supplied 54 per cent of the Africans that it employed with a bread ration, at a total cost of £44.1.0 per day, and this was regarded as money well spent, since it was found that at those compounds where a bread ration was supplied there was no difficulty in keeping up a supply of labour, but at the three compounds where no bread ration was supplied there was always a shortage of labourers.⁽³⁰⁾

The one activity that thwarted all attempts at municipal control was the brewing and consumption of beer. Home-brewed beer was recognised as being a staple food for Africans and a valuable aid in the prevention and cure of scurvy, because its contents included the same bacillus as that in Metchnikoff's curdled milk. Ordinance 32, passed in 1902, aimed at controlling rather than prohibiting the consumption of home-brewed beer. Employers of more than fifty Africans were therefore permitted to supply African employees with beer, gratis, for consumption on their premises. Furthermore no restriction was placed on "the use, gift or possession" of beer in locations more than twelve miles from Johannesburg.⁽³¹⁾ These provisions nevertheless effectively prevented the majority of Africans from obtaining "Kaffir" beer legally, and illegal liquor dealing therefore developed

(29) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, Superintendent of Locations, 23.7.1920.

(30) Report to the Parks and Estates Committee, Superintendent of Locations, 23.7.1920.

(31) Clause 49(2).

into a thriving industry.

The brewing and sale of beer was a major means of supplementing inadequate incomes. Women in particular turned to this form of obtaining a cash income, since it proved far more lucrative than other occupations, such as washing clothes or employment in domestic service, that were open to them. They made both Sekokiaan and Khali.⁽³²⁾ The former is a strong drink made from golden syrup by its fermentation with yeast. The whole process takes about three hours, and it could thus be made overnight. The more sweetness and the more yeast, the more rapid the process and the more potent the result. Khali is similar, but, by adding the root of a *mesembryanthemum tortuosum*, a "Hottentot" fig, the resultant drink was made even more potent.

Because of the virtual prohibition, there was a thriving illicit trade in spirits. Whites, for example, imported brandy from the Cape at a cost of 4s. 6d. per bottle, diluted it, and sold it to an African runner for 10s., who, in turn, sold it in a compound or yard, for 15s. to £1.⁽³³⁾ Africans therefore had to buy by the bottle and, because of the possibility of being caught and having the liquor destroyed, they tended to drink the contents immediately after purchase.

Illicit liquor dealing also thrived in the "Kaffir" eating-shops. Many of the licensees were Chinese, who manufactured a beverage which they sold to Africans under the name of "Hopan" or "Raspberry".⁽³⁴⁾ This was particularly strong, and produced all the symptoms of intoxication.

This illegal system of manufacturing and obtaining

(32) J.M.Orpen : Natives, Drink, Labour, p.16.

(23) The Star, 22.1.1912.

(34) J.M. Orpen : Natives, Drink, Labour, p.20.

liquor was perhaps the major factor accounting for the inability of the police authorities to cope adequately with the problem posed by drunkenness amongst Africans. The Municipal Council therefore considered introducing a system similar to that adopted in Durban, where the municipal authorities controlled the production and distribution of "kaffir" beer, and all profits derived were used to further housing schemes for Africans. With the introduction of this system, drunkenness amongst Africans in Durban had halved. (35)

This system served a number of purposes. First a municipal monopoly on the production and distribution of home-brewed beer undercut independent producers, and thus went a long way towards removing an independent source of cash income from Africans. Secondly, the Municipal Council, through the revenue it derived, was able to further its schemes regarding Africans. In Durban total revenue from the sale of "Kaffir" beer between 1913 and 1920 was £232 000, and expenditure on all matters affecting Africans, including police costs, municipal charges and buildings, was only £177 000. (36) Africans thus not only covered the town administrative costs, but the Municipal Council remained with a profit of £55 000. Furthermore, the introduction of the "Durban system" into Johannesburg would enable its Municipal Council to control the major social activity of its labour force.

In 1918 the Union Government appointed a select committee to investigate the working of the liquor laws in the Transvaal. (37) In the following year this so-called Koth Report concluded that the best possible course would be to repeal the virtual prohibition, and to allow Africans to have not only their

(35) T.P. 1-1922, p.52. See Maynard W. Swanson : Urban Origins of Separate Development.

(36) Rand Daily Mail, 6.6.1922.

(37) S.C. 2-1918.

"Kaffir" beer, but light wines and malt as well. These, it considered, should be sold in special canteens under government control and by government officials, thus enabling the government to derive all the benefits of a monopoly system. It was not until 1923, and the passing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, that provision was made for municipal monopoly of domestic brewing to be introduced in areas approved by the Minister of Native Affairs. (38)

This Natives (Urban Areas) Act was, undoubtedly, the measure that provided most aid to municipal authorities in the implementation of their segregation policies as a means to control the African labour force. (39) Since 1903, and probably before that, the housing of Africans other than domestic servants had long been a source of confusion. From 1906 Africans not residing on the premises of their European employers were required to live in locations. (40) Subsequent attempts by the Municipal Council to secure an amendment of this law, so that only bona fide domestic servants would be exempted, were unsuccessful. As a result employers, both genuine and otherwise, hired dwellings, which thus became the "premises of European employers", and housed large numbers of Africans other than domestic servants.

With the passing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923, the only Africans, including women and children, exempted from residence in locations were registered owners on the 25th November 1924 of immovable property within the urban area, rateable at £75 or more, and the wife, minor child, unmarried daughter, or bona fide dependant of such owners, bona fide domestic servants, and those Africans who were provided

(38) U.G. 21-1923.

(39) See pp. 70, 79 and 151-2.

(40) Ordinance No. 11 (Private) of 1906.

with accommodation approved by the local authority outside a location," Native" village or hostel, and Africans temporarily or permanently exempted by the local authority.⁽⁴¹⁾

Complementary to these segregation measures were provisions empowering the Minister of Native Affairs to require local authorities to provide locations and/or "Native" villages and/or hostels for Africans in their areas. These three types of accommodation were conceived as catering for three different classes of Africans.⁽⁴²⁾ Locations were intended to accommodate a floating population which could not afford more than the very basic necessities. Buildings in the locations were intended to be the property of the local authority and to be let on a monthly tenure to Africans living under family conditions, whose employment and residence in the area were not of a permanent nature. The "Native" village, on the other hand, was seen as a place of residence for a more settled population with a more permanent form of employment. Here the intention was that buildings would be erected by Africans for their own occupation. Hostels were the third form of accommodation. As had been the case with the Municipal Council of Johannesburg, these were intended for Africans not living under conditions of family life. Thus barracks for males and females of single rooms, or dormitories for single Africans working under the system of migratory labour, were to be built.

In order to ensure the successful completion of the obligations laid on them, local authorities were given the power to acquire land, by expropriation if necessary, and to borrow money for the construction of dwellings.

Advisory boards were to be established for every location or "Native" village under the control of an

(41) U.G. 21-1923, section 5.

(42) J.S. Allison : Urban Native Legislation, p.58.

urban local authority. This was to include a chairman, who might be white, but three of the representatives had to be local African residents. All regulations affecting a particular African area could only be made or withdrawn, after consultation with the advisory board. Since the functions of these boards were purely advisory, decision-making, and therefore control, remained firmly beyond their reach.⁽⁴³⁾

The Union Government ensured its control over the administration of African affairs in urban areas through the provision requiring that officers appointed for the general management of any particular location or village were to be licensed by the Minister of Native Affairs. In addition the Minister had the power to appoint special officers who had the right to inspect all accommodation provided for Africans, to confer with the local authority, to enquire into grievances, and to inspect the books and accounts of the local authority concerned.

Besides the sections that dealt with the conditions of residence for Africans in or near urban areas, and the administration of such areas, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act also dealt with the restriction and control of the influx of Africans to urban areas. Africans, whether male or female, could be prohibited from entering particular areas, where their presence was not considered necessary or desirable. Every contract of service entered into by male Africans had to be registered, and those who were unemployed could be removed from the area. Furthermore, local authorities were required to keep an accurate check as to the number of Africans within its particular area and to submit regular returns to the Minister of Native Affairs.

Further sections dealt with the supply of "Kaffir" beer, trading in locations and "Native" villages, and the

(43) See p. 190.

framing of regulations by the Governor-General, the Minister of Native Affairs, and the local authority with the approval of the Administrator of the Province concerned and the Minister.

While the local authorities were left to effect the actual supervision of those Africans within their areas, the Union Government was the ultimate controlling body. The principle underlying this Natives (Urban Areas) Act was that within the urban areas, separate residential areas should be set aside for Africans. In this it corresponded to the Native Land Act of 1913 that had provided for the territorial separation of groups of people in rural areas. To enforce this principle, a system of close supervision and control was necessary, and the passing of this Natives (Urban Areas) Act was an important step in establishing a system that ensured the maintenance of a largely unskilled African labour force. (44)

(44) For further discussion of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, see J.S. Allison : Urban Native Legislation and T.R.H. Davenport : African Townsmen? South African Natives (Urban Areas) Legislation through the years, and The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY

The central problem that resulted from the influx of Africans and their settlement in the Johannesburg area was the provision of housing accommodation at suitable rents. Since the rents that Africans could afford to pay would not have provided a landlord with a profitable return on his capital, there was no private building of houses for letting to Africans. In any event, the practice of letting shanties and yards to Africans developed into such a lucrative business that it is not surprising that private individuals made no attempt to have the situation alleviated. Some yards contained up to forty small rooms, all occupied by African families, paying about 15s. to 30s. per month, and in some cases rising even to £2 per month, per family for the privilege of being permitted to occupy this accommodation.⁽¹⁾

Many of the ratepayers of Johannesburg were genuinely concerned about conditions. Slums, overcrowding and insanitary conditions bred crime as well as disease, and as such, posed a danger to them. The public, by way of ratepayers' associations, responded by protesting to both the central and the local authorities over the presence of Coloureds and Africans in their midst. The Ophirton Ratepayers Vigilance Association complained that

the township and surrounding was overrun with coloured people and natives, living in premises let to them by the more irresponsible white people, under passes issued by the municipal authorities. ⁽²⁾

From 1898 repeated calls were made by the Western

(1) T.P. 3-1915, p.46.

(2) JUS CF 36, 3/731/10, re Petition Ophirton Ratepayers Vigilance Association.

Suburbs Property Owners' Association and the Vrededorp Ratepayers Association for the removal of the Malay Location, "because it was situated in the centre of the white population of Johannesburg".⁽³⁾ The Fordsburg Property Owners' Association went even further. Not only did it pass resolutions and send petitions, but it also went to court and obtained a judgment to the effect that no Coloured people were permitted to reside in Fordsburg.⁽⁴⁾ Attitudes such as these undoubtedly influenced a Municipal Council whose electorate included the members of the various ratepayers' associations, but the extent to which such considerations featured in the decision to implement the beginnings of urban segregation is difficult to estimate.

Where ratepayers' associations were certainly influential was in regard to the places selected for African residence. Whenever the Municipal Council attempted to take positive steps to provide alternative housing accommodation, separate from that occupied by whites, ratepayers in the vicinity of the spot proposed protested vehemently. In 1916 3 950 residents of the area around Booysens signed a petition protesting against the proposal to establish a location in the vicinity at Southwards Township.⁽⁵⁾ They claimed that the establishment of such a location would lead to the depreciation of their properties in value, that crime would flourish and pose a threat to them, that the site was unsuitable (because of the presence nearby of white townships and the need to construct a tramway to the proposed location) and in any event they felt that their area had fulfilled its obligations

(3) Rand Daily Mail, 22.10.1919.
The Star, 23.4.1919.
JUS 268, 3/127/20, Secretary of Native Affairs -
Secretary of Justice, 7.7.1920.

(4) The Star, 14.11.1913. See also pp. 69-70.

(5) Rand Daily Mail, 5.7.1916.

in terms of sharing in the housing of Africans by allowing compounds in the area.

In considering these reasons that residents raised as grounds for opposing schemes suggested by the Municipal Council, one point that was never publicly raised was of major significance. Landlords who were letting premises to Africans in the vicinity of areas suggested for schemes would suffer financially. The extent to which ratepayers and vigilance associations were controlled by such people is an open question.

There were certain public-spirited individuals whose concern over conditions extended beyond their own interests. The Mothercraft League constantly campaigned for the elimination of slums.⁽⁶⁾ The Citizens' Alliance for Liquor Reform suggested the provision of compound accommodation for single Africans and locations for married ones.⁽⁷⁾ The Rand Social Service League organised a conference in 1916 to discuss the housing question, the situation with regard to Africans and the problem of slum areas of Johannesburg.⁽⁸⁾ The National Council of Women, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Diocesan Board of Missions, the Transvaal Missionary Association, the Women's Municipal Association and many of the churches on the Rand, were all represented at this conference. While numerous proposals were made, discussions always ended with a decision to approach the Municipal Council and put forward the proposals in question. At no time did these associations actually contemplate taking positive action themselves, but their importance as a pressure group on the Council should not be underestimated.

(6) The Star, 21.5.1914.

(7) Rand Daily Mail, 23.6.1915.

(8) The Star, 1.3.1916.

Whenever steps that would fundamentally alter the position of Africans were considered, the white response inevitably tended to place barriers in the way. Many of the members of the Amalaita gang worked as houseboys in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg and the Anglican Church hoped that by working amongst them, it would be able to halt their gradual drift into the world of crime. White residents of the northern suburbs would not permit such a scheme in their midst, and the Anglican Church found it virtually impossible to procure sites for church welfare services in the area. The one instance in the northern suburbs in which practical assistance was given in this connection was that in which a Jewish gentleman moved his motor car into the street and allowed his garage to be used for Christian worship, even if it happened to be raining.⁽⁹⁾ As a result church activity was confined largely to the Doornfontein area, where distance and the hours worked by houseboys made it extremely difficult for church activity to influence those who did not involve themselves voluntarily.

The sources of finance for African congregations provide a valuable guide as to the indifference of the vast majority of the white population of Johannesburg. In 1908, for example, only one local white subscribed to African missions of the Diocese of Pretoria of the Church of England.⁽¹⁰⁾ Of the £20 500 that the Church of England received for its work amongst Africans in the three years between 1903 and 1906, £10 000 was received from S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. grants, £6 000 from payments by Africans themselves, £3 000 in aid from the Diocesan Central Fund and £1 500 from private donations, mainly from England.⁽¹¹⁾ In the same

(9) Report of Sub-Committee of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives on "Lawlessness among Johannesburg Natives," p.10.

(10) CPSA, Diocese of Pretoria, Annual Reports 1903-1911, 1909-1910, p.30.

(11) CPSA, Diocese of Pretoria, Annual Reports 1903-1911, 1905-1906, p.76.

period, over £100 000 was spent in ordinary ministrations to the somewhat smaller white congregations.

Church activity concentrated largely on work amongst African women. By 1911 there were some 4 357 African women in Johannesburg, (12) and, on their arrival in town, no municipal accommodation, for example, was available to them. It was left to church bodies to attempt to provide for the needs of these women, and in 1907 the Church of England Mission started a school for African women and girls in a small cottage in Sherwell Street, Doornfontein. (13) The object was to train them in all branches of housework, cooking and laundry work. Initially there were only two scholars, but soon there were so many applications for admission that a Native Girls Industrial School Committee was formed with the objective of extending the scheme for industrial training for "native girls", and building a school in Rosettenville. M.C. Bruce, the Honorary Secretary of the Committee, illustrated the attitude of the church when he said:

During the past half-dozen years the Kaffir has been educating himself in his little tin shanty in our back yards to a degree that might astonish the average Johannesburger did he think about it. To a certain extent, the men and boys are provided for, but no provision has been made for the women and girls. The latter are coming up to Johannesburg to look for work in greater numbers than most of us realise, yet very few ladies will for a moment entertain the idea of engaging them as servants. Native girls, they say, are exceedingly ignorant, they are untrained, and in many cases immoral. Surely the solution to the problem of large numbers of Kaffir females coming to town and the difficulty of ladies to get satisfactory servants lies in training the native girl in all branches of housework and looking after her until, and even after, she has found settled employment. (14)

(12) U.G. 32-1912, p.40.

(13) C. Lewis and G.E. Edwards : Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, p.644.

(14) The Star, 10.12.1908.

It was stressed that the school would be industrial and that there would be a total avoidance of English Board School methods that turned out young people who scorned manual labour. Since the training required would take time, the Loyal Women's Guild introduced a scheme in 1908 that brought Cape girls from the Cape Colony to work in Johannesburg as domestic servants. (15)

When the St. Agnes Native Girls' Industrial School opened its doors in Rosettenville on 3rd March 1910 it had an enrolment of thirty-seven African girls. (16) It is significant that the funds for the building had been sent out from England and fees were paid by parents.

Although the Anglican Church devoted most of its energy to work amongst African women in the married quarters of the mine locations, it did send a worker to visit the various yards, as well as hospitals, prisons and asylums. It also opened a hostel for African women in 1915. This provided them with accommodation on a temporary basis until they found work, as well as permanent accommodation for those who went out to work during the day. During its first year of existence, it provided lodging for 103 women. (17) For all its professed intentions, it is notable that the hostel paid its own way. Most of the women who resided there returned after finding work and voluntarily made a contribution to their costs of upkeep. This and contributions from friends enabled the hostel to function without the Anglican Church having to support it.

In 1919 the Congregationalist American Board started the Helping Hand Club for Native Girls in Hans Street, Fairview. (18) This provided hostel accommodation and general recreational facilities

(15) The Star, 10.12.1908.

(16) The Star, 4.3.1909.

(17) CPSA, Report of the Diocesan Board of Missions, 1916, p.185.

(18) D. Gaitskell : 'Christian Compounds for Girls' : Church Hostels for African Women in Johannesburg, 1907-1970, p.7.

Although the establishment of church hostels for African women in Johannesburg did have definite advantages for African women seeking employment, there were also definite advantages to the white community. The so-called "black peril" was becoming ever more serious and by providing accommodation, the church authorities were in a position to supervise the employment of African women. By encouraging African women to enter domestic service, the church authorities were aiding in the elimination of the houseboy from domestic life.

Attempts to establish church hostels for African women in Johannesburg were quite inadequate. In 1920 the Municipal Council felt compelled to act when it decided to build a hostel in Fordsburg for African women arriving in Johannesburg or working in town. (19) The Council planned to spend £17 080 on the scheme, which would include a single-storey building with baths, wash-places, a kitchen, a common-room and accommodation for 107 occupants. (20) As usual, this decision was accompanied by an outcry from residents of the surrounding areas. (21)

Although attitudes did not change fundamentally, there was a growing realisation over the years of a need for change in relation to the position of Africans in Johannesburg. The Commission appointed to enquire into Assaults on Women drew attention to the "miserable hovels and shanties, in which they [Africans] are now frequently compelled to live", and to the "tracks which in some instances are positively dangerous at night". (22) The report of the Tuberculosis Commission stated:

The majority of such locations are a menace to the health of their inhabitants, and directly to the health of those in the

(19) Council Minutes, 1919-1920, p.15.

(20) Council Minutes, 1919-1920, p.15.

(21) The Star, 28.7.1920.

(22) U.G. 39-1913, p.30.

towns. It is with the character of the dwelling that the greatest fault must be found. With few exceptions they are a disgrace, and the majority are quite unfit for human habitation. (23)

Following these reports, newspaper articles began to draw attention to the plight of Africans. It was particularly after the outbreak of the influenza epidemic in 1918 that not only journalists but also the public in general began to show an awareness of the situation, and numerous letters to editors of newspapers indicate the growth of a social conscience amongst the general public.

From 1915 the American Board of Missions conducted experiments to determine African responses to various social service schemes. (24) Playground games, 'bioscope' and magic lanterns, discussion clubs and team games were all experimented with. In 1919 the Boy Scout movement widened its activities to include Africans. (25) Similarly, in 1925 the Girl Wayfarers' Association was founded. This set out "to conquer vice and degradation with clean and healthy interests and pleasures". (26)

In addition, the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives was born out of the need to promote co-operation between whites and Africans and to improve the position of Africans by drawing the attention of the public to it, and by seeking to influence the formation of public opinion. Sub-committees investigated issues ranging from land and wage questions to education, public health and recreational facilities. Membership of the Council was divided equally between whites and Africans and included F.C. Sturrock, Chairman

(23) U.G. 34-1914, p.126.

(24) The Star, 22.6.1920.

(25) See p.169.

(26) The Girl Guide Magazine(S.A.), 1922-25, p.20.

of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, P. Ross Frames, Managing Director of the Premier Diamond Mining Company, D.C. Greig, a former chairman of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, J.A. Hamilton, who had been a member of the Native Affairs Commission of 1903 to 1905, J.H. Hofmeyr, principal of the Johannesburg University College, H. Mayer of the Native Recruiting Corporation, H.M. Taberer, the general manager of the Native Recruiting Corporation, as well as African members representing the Transvaal Native Congress, the Mine Clerks' Association, the Native Teachers' Association, and the Native Ministers' Association. (27)

This gradual change manifested itself in the establishment of the Bantu Men's Social Centre in 1924. The objects of this Society were

to help young Bantu men to devote their leisure time to the best advantage in healthful recreation and good citizenship; the development of worthy character, and the promotion of a real sympathy between Europeans and Bantu in South Africa. In the attainment of these objects, all the activities shall be conducted along lines which are in harmony with the accepted principles of Christian Practice, but sectarian propaganda shall be debarred. (28)

Membership was open to male whites and Africans, as well as to Coloureds who lived amongst and as Africans. Control and the management of the affairs of the Society were vested in an elected Executive Committee, consisting of eleven white and nine African members.

A well-constructed building with a large hall and several smaller ones for concerts, meetings,

(27) S.C. 3-1923, pp. 110-111.

(28) Fa 11, Amended Draft Constitution of the Bantu Men's Social Centre.

reading-rooms and writing-rooms, was built at a cost of £7 250 on the Wemmer Site.⁽²⁹⁾ Whatever the motives of the sport, entertainment and intellectual activities that were subsequently organised, the establishment of the Society was a highly significant development in that it was the result of the efforts of a sector of the general public. Particularly active in this respect were Howard Pim, a chartered accountant and municipal councillor, and Walter Webber, M.L.A.

The extent to which these activities affected conditions fundamentally is open to question. Nevertheless, their value for the purpose of this study lies in the indication they provide of the awareness of sections of the white community of Johannesburg that there was a need for positive action. While only a relatively small percentage actively involved themselves, since whites alone had the privilege of electing the members of the various legislatures, all were indirectly involved in the situation evolving around them.

Much of the reaction of government to the problems posed by the rapid growth of Johannesburg has been dealt with as a factor vitally affecting African settlement in the Johannesburg area. The major solution decided upon was to remove a section of the community, the African sector, from the slums and to settle them in accommodation provided by the Municipal Council in the form of locations and compounds. Yet in 1923 it was necessary for the Union Government to take an active role and pass legislation in the form of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, an act that was designed to deal directly with the question of Africans and their settlement in urban areas.

The role of the central authorities had frequently

(29) Council Minutes, 1922-1923, p.115.

complicated municipal administration. The local authority, the Municipal Council, for example, was responsible for the management of the "Kaffir" Location but the central authority, the Milner administration, occupied the position of landlord, and was thus in a position to obstruct municipal decisions. Developments here nurtured the growth of the idea that the Municipal Council should itself assume the task of landlord and establish locations under its own management.⁽³⁰⁾ The failure of the Union Government to co-operate with the Municipal Council had encouraged Coloured settlement in Vrededorp.⁽³¹⁾

According to the General Municipal Ordinance of 1906, the administration of matters relating to Africans, with the exception of pass regulations, was the responsibility of the local authorities. However, after the promulgation of the South Africa Act in 1909, the question of the administration of Africans was not so straightforward. While control of municipal legislation and administration was vested in the Provincial Council, control and administration of Native Affairs was reserved to the Governor-General-in-Council.⁽³²⁾ As the Report of the Department of Native Affairs for the years 1913 to 1918 stated:

The question arose immediately after Union whether in the exercise of their powers in regard to Natives, the local authorities were to be subject to the Provincial or the Union Government; in other words, whether regulations differentially affecting Natives framed by the local authorities required merely the approval of the Executive Committee or whether they required in addition the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council. ⁽³³⁾

Furthermore, soon after Union, the several

(30) Council Minutes, 1901, p.81.

(31) See p.27.

(32) Sections 85 and 147. See p.67.

(33) U.G. 7-1919, p.14.

provincial administrations introduced measures consolidating the laws governing urban local authorities in each province, and the question then arose whether provisions affecting Africans could be included in such ordinances. Mainly because of the obvious necessity for a uniform policy towards Africans throughout the Union, the view that the powers in question should be reserved to the central authorities prevailed.

Of particular concern to the Municipal Council was its lack of control over the influx of Africans to Johannesburg. It complained about the unregulated issue of passes to Africans to proceed to Johannesburg and that the Union Government continued to give passes irrespective of whether or not employment was available in Johannesburg. The Municipal Council considered the provision of accommodation for Africans should be the responsibility of the Union Government since the government allowed more and more Africans into Johannesburg, and hence into the slum areas, the policy of the Municipal Council of moving Africans from the slum areas was bound to fail.

Two choices faced the Municipal Council in relation to unemployed Africans. They could be given passes to leave the district, or they could be prosecuted for being unemployed for more than six days. If the first course were adopted, such Africans would probably immediately return. If the Municipal Council chose the latter course, Africans would be sentenced to seven days hard labour on the roads. Thereafter they too would probably return to their old haunts. As for unemployed female Africans, only the Director of Native Labour could deport them. The Municipal Council was in effect powerless.

In the Malay Location, for example, the Council even considered erecting a high fence with a limited

number of entrances which would be guarded day and night, as a means of controlling the influx of Africans. (34) The cost precluded its implementation and the Council decided to wash its hands of the entire problem. Because of its lack of adequate legal powers, the Council adopted the attitude that, until such time as the Union Government took action, it would take no further steps to attempt to ease the black housing situation in Johannesburg.

Basically the problem was that the Municipal Council saw its involvement in housing for Africans in terms of finance. In the year ending the 30th June 1922 the Council suffered a loss of £11 580 from housing accommodation for Africans. This resulted in the following way:

	Expenditure.	Revenue	Loss	Profit.
	£	£	£	£
Klipspruit Location	8 000	3 510	4 490	-
Western Native Township	13 455	6 204	7 251	-
Werner Compound	3 273	2 223	1 050	-
Salisbury and Jubilee Compound	3 074	2 850	224	-
	<u>£27 802</u>	<u>£14 787</u>	<u>£13 015</u>	

From this loss £1 435 must be deducted, because of fines received by the Municipal Council for contraventions of bye-laws. In addition, the Council suffered a further loss of £549 from the tram service to Western Native Township. (35)

The wages paid to Africans were such that the rentals charged by the Municipal Council had to be proportionately low. On the basis of the wage paid to Africans, the Council was unable to provide them

(34) JUS 268, 3/127/20, Minutes of adjourned meeting of Vrededorp Township Committee, 16.3.1920.

(35) S.C. 3-1923, p.3.

with accommodation at a rate which would re-imburse it for its outlay of capital.

In Klipspruit Location the Municipal Council suffered a loss of £21 551 in the five years between 1915 and 1920⁽³⁶⁾ and it therefore declined to spend anything on improving conditions in the location. Yet it could not simply allow conditions to deteriorate further, so it adopted the attitude that since it was being condemned to the extent that it was for its efforts in Klipspruit Location, it would abolish the location.

Subsequent events highlight the conflict between the central and the local authorities. When a deputation of Africans from Klipspruit Location approached the Parks and Estates Committee and urged that the location be allowed to continue until an alternative had been provided, the Parks and Estates Committee directed the deputation to apply to the Union Government. The Department of Native Affairs, in turn, replied that it was up to the Municipal Council to provide an alternative.⁽³⁷⁾ A stalemate developed, and the situation continued as before.

In 1920 the Municipal Council spent £236 484 on its various schemes.⁽³⁸⁾ Of this total £146 357 was used to further the development of Western Native Township, £69 877 for Klipspruit Location, £18 500 for a hostel for African women, and £1 750 for an extension of a water supply. In addition, the Council set aside £75 000 for a barracks for male Africans, and a further £25 000 for a location to serve the eastern areas of Johannesburg. It also planned to erect another 300 houses at Western Native Township

(36) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, 14.10.1920.

(37) Rand Daily Mail, 4.9.1920.

(38) JUS 268, 3/127/20, Chairman, Parks and Estates Committee - Resident Magistrate, Johannesburg, 4.1.1921.

at an estimated cost of £60 000. In the same year, 1920, the Union Government received £827 527 from Africans in direct taxes, plus another £42 169 from pass and compound fees, (39) yet it did not contribute at all to the schemes envisaged and carried out by the Municipal Council.

That the central authorities were largely to blame for the housing situation in Johannesburg cannot be denied. The Municipal Council simply did not have adequate funds, nor did it have adequate legal powers to cope with the situation. It had no land, and immediately it became known that the Municipal Council was interested in a particular piece of land, the price of the land jumped by £500 or £1 000. (40) The mining companies owned proclaimed land on which no rates were paid, but were unwilling to agree to the government's deproclaiming it, even though it was no longer required for mining purposes. (41) The central authorities repeatedly shirked their responsibilities by passing the buck to the Municipal Council.

By 1909 it was already aware of the unsatisfactory conditions at Klipspruit Location. Following a meeting between the Secretary for Native Affairs, representatives of the Parks and Estates Committee and residents of Klipspruit Location, the Minister of Native Affairs, Johann Rissik, urged the removal from Klipspruit of either the sewerage works or the location, "as it is obviously impossible to retain them together as at present". (42) The Minister suggested that the location should be broken up altogether, and that one or more new locations on proclaimed mining ground,

(39) The Star, 5.4.1921.

(40) S.C. 3-1923, p.13.

(41) The Star, 8.6.1920.

(42) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, Secretary for Native Affairs - Town Clerk, 30.10.1909.

within a reasonable distance and access of the town, should be established. He stated that the government was ready to assist the Municipal Council as far as possible, because the "moral aspects of the question have a greater claim upon the attention than financial considerations", since "the Location natives have no option, but to live there" and there was a "clear obligation on the Municipality to see that the living conditions of Location residents were satisfactory".

Yet in 1919, ten years later, the report of the Committee that investigated grievances of Africans in Klipspruit Location pointed out that the Union Department of Native Affairs had failed to accept its share of responsibility. It stated:

They were frequently approached by the natives for protection and assistance in regard to their grievances in the Location. They were aware of all the circumstances connected therewith, and were in a position to bring to the notice of the Municipality the gravity of the situation in a more forceful and convincing manner, which they failed to do, pleading that they had no authority to interfere. (43)

Yet the Department of Native Affairs was responsible for all legislation affecting the control of Africans by the Municipal Council, which was submitted to and passed by the Union Government before it became law.

Even though the Rooth Report, for example, made references to the desirability of the Union Government's stepping in where a town council failed to fulfil its responsibilities in connection with African housing, it was not until 1918, and the outbreak of the influenza epidemic with the resulting havoc, that the Union Government actually began to take positive action. In 1919 parliament passed the Public Health Act. (44)

(43) Report of the Committee appointed to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, pp. 7-8.

(44) See pp. 80-1.

This recognised that the problems encountered by the Municipal Council of Johannesburg were not peculiar to Johannesburg alone.

The Municipal Council of Durban was considering a housing project that would create a kind of new model village. In Cape Town, the Municipal Council had adopted proposals for borrowing close to half a million sterling to house municipal employees at Maitland and Lakeside. It had also made building advances to private individuals in terms of the Housing Act with its Central Housing Board. (45)

At this stage it was the intention of the Department of Native Affairs to give Africans a stake in the locations by granting them the right to acquire fixity of tenure and to build their own houses subject to local health and sanitary requirements. (46) On this point one again notes the conflict between the central and the local authorities. Municipal policy assumed that Africans were in Johannesburg to minister to the needs of the whites who had created the town and the attachment to this attitude was contained in the report of the Transvaal Local Government Commission of 1922. (47) This asserted that Africans were "not by nature town dwellers", and that their presence in towns raised "hygienic, economic and social problems of considerable magnitude". While conceding that Africans were in the towns, and likely to remain there, it continued by asserting:

It should be understood that the town is a European area, in which there is no place for the redundant native, who neither works nor serves his or her people but forms the class from which the professional agitators, the slum landlords, the liquor sellers, the prostitutes, and other undesirables spring. (48)

(45) The Star, 19.8.1919.

(46) U.G. 34-1922, p.14.

(47) T.P. 1-1922, paragraph 42.

(48) U.G. 15-1922, p.25.

The Transvaal Local Government Commission recommended the adoption of the policy that the Municipal Council of Johannesburg had followed. It envisaged the selection of sites within easy reach of centres of employment where Africans alone would reside. While houses would be built by the Municipal Council, by private white employers, or by Africans themselves, the land would be owned by the municipality concerned. (49)

In contrast, the Native Affairs Commission appointed by the Union Government in 1921, favoured the growth of townships for Africans apart from those of the whites on the lines of those that had developed at places such as Evaton and Alexandra. (50) When the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was adopted in 1923, local interests prevailed and Africans were denied the right to own property in urban areas. (51) But no provision was made for local control of the influx of Africans to the urban areas, nor was there any easing of those aspects of the pass laws that were causing so much distress. (52)

The role of the local authorities in the situation in Johannesburg was certainly not blameless. It was the Municipal Council that had created Klipspruit Location with all its attendant sources of dissatisfaction. It was the Municipal Council that had appointed the Superintendents of Locations. It was the Municipal Council that had bowed to pressure from ratepayers' associations and slum landlords. It was the Municipal Council that had failed to communicate the realities of the situation to the voters of Johannesburg. After the influenza epidemic, the community had become aware of conditions under which the people in the slum areas lived, and there had been a general feeling that

(49) T.P. 1-1922, paragraphs 281-283.

(50) U.G. 15-1922, p.28.

(51) See pp.131-2. For further discussion see W.K.Hancock & Smuts, vol.II, pp. 118-127.

(52) See chapter VII.

reform was necessary. Yet there was little sign of activity on the part of the municipal councillors. They were otherwise occupied. A Bribery and Corruption Commission into municipal affairs was in session. The Municipality was short of funds and the Council was passing through a period of financial stringency. Furthermore, the proliferation of committees made the promotion of a policy of slum elimination and municipal building difficult. The Public Health Committee applied for closing orders. The Parks and Estates Committee controlled municipal land. The Works Committee controlled architectural and building aspects. The Finance Committee voted to provide the necessary funds. The General Purpose Committee dealt with the work of obtaining the statutory powers required before anything could be done, and after all this the Provincial Council had to pass the necessary ordinance.

By 1919 the absence of activity on the part of the Municipal Council led to the intervention of the provincial authorities. The Administrator, A.G. Robertson, appointed a committee "to investigate grievances in Nancefield Location". This committee held most of its sessions in a church hall in the location and it met under the chairmanship of E.H. Hogge, a magistrate. The other members were H.S. Bell, a legal journalist,⁽⁵³⁾ and Mary Fitzgerald, a woman labour leader.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The report of this committee was made public in the Provincial Council on the 17th February 1920⁽⁵⁵⁾ and it represented a complete indictment of the role of the Municipal Council.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Local and central executive and administrative authorities must therefore share the blame for the lack of positive

(53) Dictionary of South African Biography, vol.III, p.58.

(54) List of names proposed for inclusion in the Dictionary of South African Biography, vol.VI, p.105. Mary Fitzgerald was a former municipal councillor who was subsequently re-elected in 1921. See pp. 71-3 of this text.

(55) Votes and Proceedings of the Provincial Council, 1920, p.258.

(56) See pp. 80 and 162-6.

action, but they were dependent on elected legislatures, elected by only a small percentage of the citizens of the municipality and country. It can be concluded that ultimately the majority of whites were responsible for deteriorating conditions. In the lack of popular pressure, and the hostile attitude whenever the Municipal Council attempted anything constructive, many ratepayers must share in the responsibility. Since governments were elected by the majority of voters, the majority of whites were responsible for the failure to tackle problems adequately and for decisions taken. For example, the central and the local authorities, and thus indirectly the majority of whites, were involved in the decision to use white labour for the levelling off of ground at Western Native Township, for use as a recreation area for Africans. The estimated cost of the scheme, if carried out by African labour was £20 000, but if carried out by white labour, it would amount to £30 000, because returned soldiers were paid £0.12.6 per day. The Union Government was prepared to grant 5s. per day in respect of each white labourer, and since 240 were needed, the Municipal Council would have to pay only £18 000.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The unskilled African labour force was conveniently ignored, even though according to official policy a scheme of the above nature fell within its labour preserve.

(57) Council Minutes, vol.II, 1920, p.729.

CHAPTER VII

THE RESPONSE TO THE SYSTEM.

Having considered the development of policy in relation to Africans and the areas of settlement that resulted, the response of those on whom the system was imposed is most significant.⁽¹⁾ In keeping with the approach adopted in previous chapters, the focus is on the activities of the "common people" in their particular situations, rather than on ideologies and organisations.

Africans resident in Johannesburg had not long been acquainted with town life. Most had initially been brought to Johannesburg to work on the mines by a recruiting organisation, and those who had subsequently returned had done so of their own accord. Although Africans in the locations had the right to a thirty-three year lease, not one stand, whether business or residential, was taken up in this manner. The stands were rather taken up on a monthly tenure. This unwillingness to take up a long lease lends a measure of support to the statement of R. Feetham who claimed before the Select Committee on Native Affairs in 1923 that "natives usually remain in the town for about 12 to 18 months and then go back to their krrnals."⁽²⁾ It seems however that these selfsame poeple returned time after time to Johannesburg. The growth of schools in Klipspruit Location for example, indicates a definite trend in the direction of permanent settlement and one may conclude that by the 1920s a sig-

(1) The literature on this subject concentrates on the organised political activity of the African elite. See for example, P. Walshe : *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa* and T. Karis and G. Carter (ed.) : *From Protest to Challenge*.

(2) S.C. 3-1923, p.9.

nificant percentage of Africans in Johannesburg, perhaps as much as 72,6 per cent, had abandoned migratory practices.⁽³⁾

As was indicated in the study of Klipspruit Location,⁽⁴⁾ the so-called upper class tended to reside outside the location and there was a sense of community amongst those resident in the location. Meetings and letters of protest may therefore be taken to articulate the grievances, if not of all, then of the great majority. In March 1908 residents in Klipspruit Location elected representatives who held a meeting with members of the Parks and Estates Committee and a representative of the Department of Native Affairs to discuss grievances, in particular, the railway service.⁽⁵⁾ This was followed by further meetings but, all in all, changes that followed were of such a minor nature that they were largely irrelevant. Following numerous complaints about the railway service, for example, the only change made was that the converted cattle-trucks that served as carriages were altered slightly.⁽⁶⁾

In an attempt to elicit a more positive response from the authorities concerned, these elected representatives felt compelled to adopt more forceful methods to bring grievances to the attention of the authorities. The device they decided upon was the calling of public meetings. The nature of the devices used to approach the authorities indicated the influence of the middle class elements within the location.

It is also significant that as early as 1908 there was definite evidence of unity on the part of the residents of Klipspruit Location in the face of the decisions of the Municipal Council. When the Council experienced difficulty in collecting stand rents from residents and,

(3) See p.46.

(4) See pp. 98-9.

(5) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, Record of Meeting, 22.7.1909, p.1.

(6) NA 402, 3160/12/1294, Record of Meeting, 22.7.1909, p.1.

without any order from the Magistrate, authorised the sale by auction of the buildings on these stands, residents refused to bid for the premises. As a result, the Superintendent of Locations acting on behalf of the Municipal Council, bought these buildings and then let them at monthly rentals.⁽⁷⁾

Between November 1908 and February 1919 a total of fifty-nine registered owners had their buildings taken over by the Municipal Council. For example, the rent arrears on the property of Charles Solomon amounted to £4.2.0, and his property was therefore sold by "public" auction on the 18th January 1909 for £1.10.0. It was bought by the Superintendent of Locations on behalf of the Municipal Council, and immediately let at a rental of £1.10.0 per month. Thus, by the 30th September 1919, the Municipal Council had received £94.6.0 in rent for a property with a municipal valuation of only £27.10.0. The application of Charles Solomon to repurchase his house had been refused.⁽⁸⁾

The house of Sikle Muletswana was similarly sold on the 16th March 1909 for £0.7.6. on the grounds that he was £5.8.0 in arrears with his rent. This house was valued at £20, and the Municipal Council then immediately let it at £2 per month, and in subsequent months, at rentals ranging from £1 to £2. By the 30th September 1919, total rental accruing to the Municipal Council equalled £17.4.0.⁽⁹⁾

This enforced sale of their houses constituted one of the main grievances of residents in Klipspruit Location, and was a most significant element uniting the majority

(7) Council Minutes, 1908, p.1516.

(8) Report of the Committee appointed to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, Annexure 1, p.1.

(9) Report of the Committee appointed to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, Annexure 1, p.1.

of residents in their opposition to the system of administration in practice. The policy of not treating all owners in a like manner adopted in later years by the Superintendent of Locations failed to break this unity.⁽¹⁰⁾ In a considerable number of cases, instead of selling the houses by public auction, he made arrangements for the Municipal Council to purchase the property from the defaulting tenant by private treaty. The house of Elijah Cieli was thus purchased on the 30th September 1916 by the Municipal Council for £18. His house was valued at about £15.0.0, and he was £13.8.0 in arrears with his rent. Similarly the house belonging to April Khaleberg had a municipal valuation of £35 and was purchased on the 1st December 1914 for £45.⁽¹¹⁾

It appears that in some instances houses were sold by public auction without the owners even knowing that such a sale was to take place. One reaches this conclusion from the fact that in quite a number of instances, the original owners immediately became tenants of the Municipal Council at rentals which equalled, and in some cases exceeded, the actual price for which the houses were sold. It is possible that this occurred as a result of the practice of some residents of locking up their houses for a short period when they returned to their rural bases. They were therefore not aware of warnings and notices sent by the Municipal Council. Furthermore, these warnings and notices were sent in the English language, and no attempt was made to ascertain whether the recipients were aware of the contents.⁽¹²⁾

Another major complaint of residents was that while

(10) See p.127.

(11) Report of Committee appointed to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.5.

(12) Report of Committee appointed to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.6.

three months warning was given, during this period their houses were frequently broken open in the absence of owners, and furniture was seized and sold in order to recoup arrears of rent.⁽¹³⁾ More than anything else, it was actions such as these that built up a certain consciousness of community amongst residents in locations such as Klipspruit.

In 1909 local residents of Klipspruit Location appointed a central committee of men, representative of the various people and interests of Klipspruit Location, and over the years, this committee held private meetings, and called public ones, to discuss matters of concern to residents in the location. From 1910 this committee made representations to the Municipal Council through the Parks and Estates Committee, in concrete form. Initially, the response was most sympathetic, but as representations became more and more frequent in the face of little in the way of positive action, the helplessness of the Parks and Estates Committee was revealed. Eventually it refused to meet any further deputations and early in 1918, it went even further, and adopted an amendment to the Bye-laws for Native Locations stating: "No public meeting shall be held in any location without the written permission of the Superintendent having been first obtained."

Deputations also approached the Union Department of Native Affairs which claimed that its authority did not extend beyond informing the Municipal Council and other interested parties in the central government of grievances voiced, and adding its recommendations. The committee of residents even approached lawyers for assistance until eventually in 1918 a municipal enquiry was held at Klipspruit Location by Councillors J. Taylor and S.A. Smit.⁽¹⁴⁾ No evidence appears to have survived as to the results of this enquiry.

(13) Report of Committee appointed to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.7.

(14) Report of the Committee appointed to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, p 7.

Eventually in 1919, a full enquiry into conditions in Klipspruit Location was held. This followed a number of residents being charged with assault, and on conviction receiving heavy prison sentences. They had been charged as a result of their contravening the bye-law that stated: "No livestock of any description shall be kept within the location without the written permission of the Inspector," (15) In Klipspruit Location, registration at the office of the Superintendent was a prerequisite. However, within the location there was a tendency for some of the cattle to disappear, and the Municipal Council had accordingly arranged that the cattle be kept at night in a kraal that it provided. In addition, since owners sometimes found that their cattle had been slaughtered by others, it was decided to enforce the municipal bye-law that cattle could only be killed at the abattoir. Private slaughtering was prohibited.

In a further attempt to tighten control, the Location Superintendent, Chas. W. James, arranged that a number of white detectives should enter the location on Sunday morning, the 23rd March 1919, and supervise residents as they came to identify and remove their registered cattle from the kraal. Those that were not registered were to be impounded. Cattle-owners duly complied, but at the same time they made it clear that they resented the course that the authorities had decided upon. In fear of this smouldering resentment breaking loose, the detectives allowed unregistered cattle to be removed without further interference. The detectives thereupon withdrew and went across to Kliptown to inspect cattle there.

This was not the end of the affair. A few hours later, the detectives, together with Chas. W. James and Max Fuhr, a cattle salesman, returned to Klipspruit Location. Fuhr alleged that fifty-one of his cattle had disappeared from the grazing ground that adjoined Klipspruit Location, and the group demanded the right to

(15) Regulations for Native Reserve Locations, clause 25.

inspect the papers of Shabala, a local African butcher. At this point it appears that they were set upon by a number of local residents. (16)

There is some confusion as to what actually occurred. It would appear that the police entered the location with the intention of rounding up unregistered cattle belonging to residents and arresting those they believed to be the offenders. Their intervention was evidently resented and local residents responded by attacking them with choppers, picks, sticks and missiles.

This response indicated the antagonism directed towards the person of the Location Superintendent, Chas. W. Jones, in particular. In the ensuing attack he was by far the greatest sufferer. Particularly resented by residents was the continued favouritism he displayed and the fact that he insisted on usually carrying a revolver in the location. (17)

The police, finding themselves unable to carry out any arrests because of the attack, responded in turn by surrounding the location. African resistance in the face of this police action illustrates the degree of unity that existed amongst the residents. Most of the men worked in town, and therefore, on an average day, boarded the special trains that left Klipspruit Location at 5.30 a.m. On the Monday morning after the events related above, trains left for town practically empty. (18)

In the ensuing court case, the Magistrate, T.G. Macfie, found that the Location Superintendent had erred in attempting to take possession of the cattle but, that while this explained subsequent actions on the part of cattle-owners, it did not justify their subsequent actions.

(16) JUS 265, 3/619/18. Magistrate Macfie - Secretary of Justice, 28.3.1919.

(17) The Star, 24.3.1919.

(18) The Star, 24.3.1919.

and he recommended that they should be officially charged with assault. (19)

At this point, residents in Klipspruit Location decided once more to adopt more peaceful and direct methods for airing their dissatisfaction over conditions in the location, and they requested the appointment of a committee of two to investigate their grievances. Macfie refused to accede to this request on the grounds that the appointment of such a committee involved the question of legality and authority, since the location was under the control of the Municipal Council, an organ of local government, whereas he functioned under the central authorities.

Nevertheless the incident drew so much publicity in newspapers and aroused so much interest in the location, that the Transvaal provincial administration felt compelled to act. (20) Accordingly it appointed a committee to investigate the grievances of residents in Klipspruit Location. This committee held its sessions in a small church in the location and from beginning to end its report was a substantial indictment of the administration of the location on the part of the Municipal Council.

Promises made to Africans to induce them to move to Klipspruit Location had proved meaningless. The houses there were decidedly inferior to those that they had previously occupied. The Klipspruit houses were hurriedly erected and made of corrugated iron. The water supply was unsatisfactory. There was a definite need for suitable lighting, both accommodation and latrines. Railway facilities were inadequate. The smells emanating from the sewage farm and depositing site were obnoxious. The grazing ground for cattle had been seriously encroached on, and the practice of impounding cattle was annoying and expensive to residents. As the committee pointed out,

(19) JUS 265, 3/619/18, Magistrate Macfie - Secretary of Justice, 28.3.1919.

(20) See p. 153.

"This impounding of cattle, sometimes quite unnecessarily, has been the cause of almost all the disorders."⁽²¹⁾
 The committee also noted that the grievances of residents enunciated previously were justified.

With reference to the sale of houses, the committee noted that action was taken in terms of clause 24 of the Regulations for Native Locations. This stated:

24. The Council shall have a lien on any building or other erection on any Stand for any rent or charges for water or sanitary fees due in respect of such Stand, and, whenever the payment of rent or charges for water or sanitary service in respect of any Stand is in arrear, the Council may, after one month's notice in writing to the holder of the Stand-permit of its intention to exercise this right, cancel the Stand-permit and sell by public auction any building or other erection on such Stand. The proceeds of such sale shall be applied in the first instance to defray the cost of conducting the same and all sums due to the Council in respect of such Stand, and the remainder, if any, shall be paid to the person who was the holder of the Stand-permit, to whom a full account of such proceeds shall be furnished, and no further or other compensation shall be payable to him in respect of such buildings.

Commenting on this, the committee expressed the opinion:

Not only is the by-law harsh, but it appears to us to have been carried out with considerable severity, without leniency and without proper consideration for the feelings and circumstances of the natives. The By-Law itself would also appear to us to be ultra vires, as it contemplated and provided for the sale of houses in respect of arrear rent without recourse to the proper legal channels. The result has been grave dissatisfaction, and the instance quoted of houses sold by public auction - which are not the exceptions but the rule - would subject the Council with some considerable degree of reason to the charge of profiteering and rack renting. (22)

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- (21) Report of the Committee to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.3.
 (22) Report of the Committee to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.6.

The committee further expressed the view that

the authorities charged with the control and administration of this Location are entirely to blame for the very bad state of affairs that existed, and which ultimately led to the disorders which have taken place there. (23)

Chas. W. James, in particular, was heavily censured as being

unqualified, inexperienced, and temperamentally unsuited for the responsible appointment he holds. He was quite unable to satisfactorily explain why he had never brought certain grievances to the notice of the Municipal Council, which he admitted to be well-founded. While he no doubt endeavoured at the time to carry out his duties conscientiously and with the best intentions and in accordance with the Municipal By-laws, he appears to have been unsympathetic and wanting in tact and judgment, resulting in the various disorders which have occurred in the Location. (24)

This positive resistance that manifested itself in Klipspruit Location appears to have been the spontaneous reaction to a particular situation at a particular time. Residents certainly had grievances and the impounding of cattle on the 23rd March 1919 was evidently the spark that fanned the flames. However there is no evidence of any collective action to suggest the formation of an organisation that aimed actively to resist the system being enforced in the location. While no evidence has come to light to indicate that branches of organisations such as the Transvaal Native Congress, the Transvaal Basuto Committee or the Transvaal Native Organisation, (25) ever operated in the location, some residents were aware of the ideas of such organisations and were actively involved in their activities. For example, prior to 1912 Kaiyana

(23) Report of the Committee to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.9.

(24) Report of the Committee appointed to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1919, p.9.

(25) In 1912 these three formed the Transvaal Native Congress that affiliated to the National Congress. See P. Walshe : The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa, p.227.

led the Transvaal Native Congress and Mvabaza was a member of the Transvaal Native Organisation. Both these men were resident in Klipspruit Location as early as 1907. (26)

The decision to request the formation of a committee to investigate grievances is indicative of some middle class influences. Local inducements in the form of trade opportunities in the locations for example, were still sufficient to placate this sector of the community, and since whites controlled this trade, this means of escape from the system was acceptable to the authorities. Instead of reacting against the system itself, these Africans remained content with consultation and adjustments within the framework of the system, and directed their frustrations against various factors of a local nature, in this instance, Chas. W. James, the personal manifestation of local authority.

Nevertheless, it is significant that opposition to the system itself was growing amongst the middle class. That they were seeking to escape from the system on an individual basis is evident from the fact that a few highly successful schools were opened in opposition to the government school in Klipspruit Location, as well as from the rapid growth in the number of independent churches in the location. (27)

The committee appointed to investigate the situation in Klipspruit Location recognised that some grievances were justified. The committee therefore ended its report with a number of suggestions of a positive nature. It suggested first that provision should be made for the grazing of a reasonable number of residents' cattle to be

(26) See p. 86.

(27) See p. 103.

paid for according to a tariff. Secondly, it suggested that a pound be established within the location boundaries. Thirdly, it pressed for a definite policy to be laid down with respect to the sale of property within the location. It also suggested that a small municipal committee be constituted to deal with all matters affecting Africans within the municipal area and under direct municipal control, that such a committee should form a direct channel of approach to the Municipal Council, and where necessary, be in close touch with the Union Department of Native Affairs acting in an advisory capacity. The committee further stressed the need to dispense with the system of municipal police 'boys', to revise and amend where necessary the bye-laws relating to locations, to give every facility to Africans trading within the location and to provide for the supply of "Kaffir" beer in the location, under strict municipal control and management. The committee also suggested the appointment of a committee to enquire into the auction sales of property, with a view to compensate owners where such compensation appeared justified. In addition, the removal of Chas. W. James from the control and supervision of locations, and the provision of some form of elected African representation in the location, to assist the Location Superintendent in the domestic administration of the location, were felt to be most necessary. (28)

In March 1920 a Native Advisory Committee of eight was elected. Chas. W. James was removed from his post and the control and administration of Africans was separated from that of the zoos and parks. Two separate departments, an Estate Department and a Parks Department, were created. (29) Beyond this, little change followed the report. The situation was simply allowed to deteriorate.

(28) Report of the Committee appointed to Investigate Grievances in Nancefield Location, 1909, pp.10-11.

(29) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, 4.5.1920, and see p.80.

Dissatisfaction mounted and a general atmosphere of unrest became evident in the location.

By the beginning of the 1920s, the grievances voiced ceased to centre on specific issues relating to the administration of the location. Demands began to be made that revolved around the conditions of location life in general. There were demands for a positive say in decision-making and improved housing. Complaints against the pass system, a point not raised to the Location Superintendent prior to the 1920s, were frequently heard.

The growth and popularity of unauthorised, irregular locations,⁽³⁰⁾ the decision, (by those able to take such an option) to reside beyond municipal boundaries while profiting from activities within these boundaries,⁽³¹⁾ the enormous importance attached to education⁽³²⁾ - such factors clearly illustrate resistance to the actual system, but it was resistance on an individual level, and it was not until 1919-1920 that there was evidence of collective demands for positive changes of a fundamental nature.

This conclusion is substantiated by events in other municipal housing schemes. In 1914 for example, residents of the municipal compound at the Municipal Power Station were informed that they would no longer be allowed to brew "Kaffir" beer in their quarters, but that such brewing was to be under white supervision. As a result there was minor unrest in the compound but no organised resistance followed.

By 1920 the situation appeared to be changing. In the areas of residence complaints over particular grievances were beginning to be replaced by protests over the whole

(30) See p. 40.

(31) See p. 99.

(32) See p. 103.

nature of the existing system. In 1921, when representatives of the Parks and Estates Committee visited Western Native Township, a

light touch was supplied by a kafir playing a sort of one-string banjo, made of a piece of hollowed bark and what looked like a paraffin tin. In excellent English he went through a little scene depicting a 'boy's' arrest for not having a pass, the plea being that he was an African in his own country, and did not need one. This however did not avail him, the magistrate's remarks being cleverly, if a little too forcibly portrayed to the tum tum of the banjo aforesaid. (33)

No other report of a protest of this nature came to light and it cannot therefore be taken as typical. It does however awaken one to the development of a new trend.

Africans had attempted to establish organisations of a basically social or educational nature. The expense involved in procuring halls for meetings and concerts had, however, militated against such organisations and had prevented the success of the "Johannesburg Debating Union", for example. (34)

It was in the period after the war, from 1919, that Johannesburg began to witness the beginnings of organised opposition. The main reason for this was the rise in the cost of living, and the failure of wages paid to Africans to rise correspondingly. Between July 1914 and January 1919 the cost of living in Johannesburg rose 13,48 per cent. (35)

(33) The Star, 13.12.1921.

(34) The Star, 22.6.1920.

(35) H. Houghton and J. Dagut : Source Material on the South African Economy, vol.II, 1899-1919, p.192. This figure is based on quantities of retail commodities such as bread, butter, coffee, eggs, candles and coal with the average rent as representing the average monthly consumption of a normal family of five persons.

Africans in town who received food and housing from their employers were not affected to the same extent as those who had to provide for themselves. The average such worker still earned between £2 and £5 per month; £6 per month was considered a very good wage. Yet he had to pay about £3 per month for a room or two in town. If such an African chose to live in Western Native Township, he was only allowed to travel on the Newlands tram to the New Market. If, for example, he worked in Turffontein or Jeppe, and was in a hurry, he had to take a cab, at a cost of a shilling. In comparison, the tram fare, had he been allowed to travel by tram, would have been only 3d. ⁽³⁶⁾

Another significant factor in contributing to organisation amongst Africans in the post-war years was the example set by the white community. The Boy Scouts of South Africa functioned in the Transvaal from March 1908. The aim of their movement was "to develop good citizenship among boys by promoting their spiritual, mental and physical development". ⁽³⁷⁾ This movement did much valuable work during the Spanish influenza epidemic in 1918, and, following the example that it set, the "Trackers" was launched for Africans in 1919. This too was under the control of the Transvaal Scout Council. Although it was short-lived at first, it was restored in 1922 and flourished under the name "Pathfinders". Eventually this organisation became the Africa Association.

Similarly, white workers illustrated the value of organised action. White employees at the Municipal Power Station went on strike early in 1918 in support of their demands for higher wages and were subsequently granted an increase by the Municipal Council. ⁽³⁸⁾ Prior

(36) NA 215, 768/18/F473, Native Affairs High Cost of Living and Native Wages.

(37) Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa, vol. II, p. 478.

(38) Rand Daily Mail, 7.9.1918.

to this, there is no evidence of Africans employed by the Municipal Council adopting the use of the strike weapon, but in June 1918, those employed on the sanitary services of Johannesburg went on strike to support their wage demands.⁽³⁹⁾ This was followed shortly afterwards by strikes at the Vrededorp and Natal Spruit Compounds⁽⁴⁰⁾ over dissatisfaction with wages.

Although such moves indicate the beginnings of organised protest, they were largely ineffective. There was a distinct lack of solidarity. Out of the sixty-five Africans employed by the Municipal Council or its sanitary services, only four remained steadfast in their refusal to return to work before being granted an increase in wages. These four were subsequently sentenced to two months imprisonment with hard labour. Sixty who had initially refused to go to work soon weakened and returned to work.⁽⁴¹⁾

This apparent unwillingness to use the strike weapon can be explained by the fact that there was no shortage of alternative labourers. Immediately after the influenza epidemic, there was a shortage of African labourers in Johannesburg and many employers increased the rates they paid. However, owing to a subsequent influx of work-seekers, particularly from the Cape Province, wages once again declined.⁽⁴²⁾

As a result many workers turned to other means to supplement their incomes. There was a significant increase in the number of liquor-sellers amongst women. No actual figures are available to support this contention, but what is certain is that many women who had formerly worked in

(39) Rand Daily Mail, 7.9.1918.

(40) The Star, 22.7.1918.

(41) The Star, 11.6.1918.

(42) NA 215, 768/18/F473, Acting Director for Native Labour - Secretary for Native Affairs, 27.3.1919.

kitchens turned to the more profitable occupation of selling liquor. Men too, joined the liquor trade in significant numbers. (43)

African workers were certainly organising themselves in increasing numbers in defence of their interests. When thirty-seven Africans employed by the Palace Steam Laundry refused to go to work, higher wages was not the motivating force. They felt that the food given them, eleven pounds of mealie meal per week, was insufficient. (44) Similarly, in June 1919, about thirty building artisans employed by the Municipal Council in the construction of cottages at Newlands went on strike in support of their demands for free transport to and from work. (45)

Perhaps the most successfully organised action was that of the Transvaal Native Congress on the 31st March 1919, when over 2 000 Africans marched in a group from Vrededorp to the Johannesburg Pass Office in Fordsburg. (46) There, on an open space behind the Pass Office, they held a mass meeting where it was decided to adopt the tactic of a strike coupled with refusals to carry passes. These pass laws and their administration and enforcement, were seen as the root cause of African grievances, and the main factor that made it so difficult for Africans to obtain increased wages. In protest against the pass laws, hundreds of Africans handed their passes to the organisers of the mass meeting. Further action followed the same afternoon, when African pickets moved into the suburban districts and "collected" passes as they went along.

(43) NA 215, 768/18/F473, Notes of meeting between various employers of labour and deputation of Natives at Johannesburg, 9.1.1920.

(44) The Star, 3.7.1918.

(45) The Star, 16.6.1919.

(46) Crain Soudien : A Brief History of the Industrial Workers of South Africa discusses other attempts to mobilise the common people.

A number of open-air mass meetings were subsequently held at Vrededorp and Sophiatown. At these meetings many of the stewards who kept order wore white armbands with the words "Freedom for all" or some similar slogan printed on them. (47) At all times they emphasised the need to avoid violence.

The extent to which organised protest had developed is revealed by the fact that those involved came from all over Johannesburg. Witnesses at the subsequent Native Riot Inquiry included Jeremiah Metaphi who lived in the centre of Johannesburg, David Nkatschwa from Prospect Township, Solomon Matsobani from Klipspruit Location, George Dhlepu of Sophiatown, and James Mtintili who resided in Vrededorp. (48) What is particularly interesting is the involvement of African women in the protest action. Although they did not have to carry passes they too attended meetings, formed themselves into small bands and marched into the heart of town. A basis of organisation had thus been established within a relatively short period of time.

In addition to such formal manifestations of organised protest, opposition to the situation in which Africans found themselves in Johannesburg also manifested itself in a number of spontaneous and totally unco-ordinated ways.

Africans who objected to being compelled to live in places set aside for them by the Municipal Council frequently found their own accommodation. Some employers indicated on the passes of their African employees that they were to reside in the Salisbury and Jubilee Compound or the Wemmer Compound. Many of those who objected simply took the illegal step of moving into hovels scattered around town. Thus "one employer who was paying for a hundred, (to be housed in a compound) found only sixty

(47) The Star, 2.4.1919.

(48) JUS 254, 3/627/17, Native Riot Inquiry.

living there."⁽⁴⁹⁾ Since this particular instance is quoted, one can conclude that it was exceptional for 40 per cent to find their own accommodation. In any event, their inability to pay for alternative accommodation ensured that the majority resided where their employers decided they should.

Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of an unhappy situation is a gradual drift towards crime. There were the illicit pass sellers, who charged as a rule £2.10.0 for a pass.⁽⁵⁰⁾ There were the more educated Africans engaged in forgeries of signatures on passes or orders for liquor certificates. Other forms of crime included theft, housebreaking, assault and rape. Newspaper reports abounded with cries of the threat of the 'black peril' to, in particular, white women. Murder with revenge, jealousy, robbery and infanticide as the main motives, was not uncommon. Figures available are inadequate for the purposes of this study, since they are given for the Transvaal as a whole, and the number of Africans is not separated from other non-white communities. Thus, in 1903 for example, non-white crime accounted for 72 per cent of the crime in the Transvaal, and the ratio in the Johannesburg area of crimes committed by whites as opposed to those committed by non-whites was 1 : 2½.⁽⁵¹⁾

Many Africans, in an attempt to supplement inadequate wages, turned to illegal dealings in the liquor trade. Although this was not confined to any specific area of Johannesburg, there were areas where it was more rampant than others. In the early 1900s, the Vrededorp area was the centre of this traffic, but the centre of such activity later moved to the very heart of town. Another major centre for illegal liquor dealing was Prospect Township.

(49) NA 215, 768/18/F473, Notes of meeting, 9.1.1920.

(50) The Star, 16.4.1915.

(51) Rand Daily Mail, 9.9.1908.

This was sandwiched in between the mines and in one raid alone, police found ninety-seven fifty-gallon casks buried in the ground to a depth of five feet all filled with "Kaffir" beer. (52) Women were the main distributors of liquor. For example, most of the liquor was carried out of Alexandra Township by the women together with their bundles of washing.

Drunkenness provided an escape from the realities of the situation, and numerous reports referred to the problems of dealing with drunkenness amongst Africans. In 1913 § 565 Africans were convicted under the Liquor Law in the magisterial districts of the Rand. More than half, 4 766, were convicted in the Municipality of Johannesburg, and yet less than half of the African population on the Reef lived within the boundaries of the Municipality. In addition, 463 whites were convicted of selling liquor to Africans in the municipal area of Johannesburg as opposed to 197 such convictions on the rest of the Reef. (53)

Another form of escape was provided by daggo-smoking. While this was widespread among Africans, there was little enthusiasm for tobacco-smoking. (54) This appears to indicate that it was the desire for hallucinatory effects of smoking that popularised it as a form of recreation for Africans.

Passive resistance also manifested itself in the high turnover of African labour frequently encountered. The average number of Africans employed by the Municipal Council of Johannesburg each year was roughly 4 500. Yet the total number employed in one year, from the middle of 1905 to the middle of 1906, for example was 14 968, or an

(52) T.P. 3-1915, p.46.

(53) Rand Daily Mail, 9.9.1908.

(54) Diocese of Pretoria, Diocesan Board of Missions, Report, 1915, p.171.

average of 3,5 workers for each job per year.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Figures of the turnover of other employees are not available.

There were occasions when Africans actively showed their emotional discontent. There were instances when Africans on bicycles halted within an ace of knocking down a white person who was crossing the road. There were also instances in which Africans brushed past white people on the pavements, and, in the odd case, where they actually elbowed them into the street.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Conditions within the various places of residence ensured that any provocation might lead to violence. Events at Klipspruit Location in 1919 illustrated the depth of feeling that simmered just beneath the surface. Another example is provided by events in the Malay Location in 1920. When a white man entered the location, and became involved in an altercation with an African this served as an instant signal for Africans to stream out from the New Compound and overrun the streets throwing stones.⁽⁵⁷⁾

Africans thus responded rapidly to the situation in which they found themselves and their opposition manifested itself in two forms. On the one hand, opposition by the early 1920s was taking on a direct and increasingly organised form. On the other hand, there was a resistance that was highly individual, largely spontaneous and indirect, a manifestation of the frustrations that engulfed so many.

(55) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the period 1.7.1905-30.6.1906, p.67.

(56) The Star, 31.1.1911.

(57) The Star, 20.4.1920.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

At the time of the third census of the population of the Union of South Africa on the 3rd May 1921, the total population within the municipal area of Johannesburg was 282 971.⁽¹⁾ This included 150 286 whites, 115 120 Africans, 6 214 Asiatics and 11 351 mixed and other Coloured. The African population can be further identified as including about 45 000 mine-workers, while the remainder were employed in industry, commerce or domestic service in Johannesburg.⁽²⁾

The influx of both whites and Africans had to a large extent been in response to industrialization. For whites the unsatisfactory situation on the land, and for Africans the need for a cash income and the introduction of the Native Land Act in 1913 were important factors encouraging the influx to urban areas. The lack of adequate provision of urban housing led to the growth of slums within the urban area of Johannesburg.

The need to control the disease and crime that flourished in these conditions led the Municipal Council to adopt a policy of eliminating the slums. That it was decided to do this through the removal of Africans indicates that racial feelings played a very significant role in the beginnings of urban segregation. Nowhere is this more in evidence than in the uproars that resulted each time the Municipal Council proposed establishing an area for African settlement in the vicinity of areas of white settlement. While sanitary considerations underlay the decision of the Municipal Council in 1904 to move Africans from the central

(1) U.G. 15-1923, p.65.

(2) Sites for Native Locations, Report to Parks and Estates Committee, 3.7.1923.

city areas, subsequent events such as the unsuccessful attempt to compel Africans residing in Sophiatown to move to Klipspruit Location in 1906, indicate that sanitary considerations did not remain the main driving force behind urban segregation. There were no considerations of public health involved in the decision affecting some residents of Sophiatown. Racial considerations were a major influence.

Initially white economic interests were not of major significance in the decision to establish separate residential areas for Africans beyond municipal boundaries. The decision to move Africans from the town areas certainly resulted in irreparable damage to self-employed Africans, but opportunities for self-employment and entrepreneurial development were made available in the new settlement areas. Local whites, slum landlords for example, opposed the policy of compelling Africans to reside in locations beyond municipal boundaries, as did most employers of Africans in industry and commerce.

With the development of Johannesburg, economic considerations began to play a major role in the thinking of the white community. Compounds and locations close to the centre of town and the places of work were established and here deliberate attempts were made to prevent the growth of self-contained African communities. (3)

By 1923 the number of Africans in the municipal area of Johannesburg, excluding mine-workers, was estimated to be about 70 000. Compounds established by the Municipal Council housed about 5 000 municipal employees. The Salisbury and Jubilee Compound and the Wemmer Compound provided accommodation officially for 625 and 750 single male Africans respectively, but in practice for a greater number. Klipspruit Location accommodated approximately 3 500 people and Western Native Township 2 225. Municipally-provided accommodation thus accounted for over 12 000 Africans. About 6 000 male Africans were accommodated in private compounds attached to factories and warehouses,

(3) See Chapter IV.

while the number of houseboys was estimated at 37 000.⁽⁴⁾ About 10 000 Africans resided in the slum areas, in the "v" of Doornfontein, the "dens" of Ferreire or the "k-alleys" of the Malay Location. Provision was to be made for 14 125 Africans at Western Native Township, Eastern Native Township and the Wemmer Compound.⁽⁵⁾

Meanwhile it was useless trying to enforce municipal decisions, for example, that all single male Africans had to live in a location, a compound or on an employer's premises after the 1st January 1923. There was simply insufficient accommodation of the required nature available. Such accommodation as had been provided was not of the most satisfactory nature. In 1926 infantile mortality at Klipspruit Location was 958 per 1 000. In comparison, at Western Native Township it was 449 per 1 000, and at Eastern Native Township 545 per 1 000. Dr. H.L. Bernstein, the Medical Officer for the Department of Native Affairs in Johannesburg, pointed out that although "these figures were unreliable", they were valuable for purposes of comparison since they were all "calculated from the same data and agree in showing the marked difference between Klipspruit and the Townships". In 1926 the death-rate from enteritis per 1 000 per annum at Klipspruit Location was 34,4. At Western Native Township it was 14,4 and at Eastern Native Township it was nil. Similarly in 1929 the death-rate per 1 000 of the population at Klipspruit Location was 25, at Western Native township 5 and at Eastern Native Township 11,5.⁽⁶⁾

From these figures it is evident that conditions at Klipspruit Location were decidedly worse than those in the other locations. All three were similarly situated beside

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- (4) The Star, 21.6.1920. This figure was estimated by officials at the Johannesburg Pass Office.
 - (5) Site for Native Locations, Report to Parks and Estates Committee, 3.7.1923.
 - (6) Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, Correspondence, General, 1923, Personal and Private Memorandum by Dr. H.L. Bernstein.

sewage farms, but what made Klipspruit Location worse was the fact that the sewage farm beside it was still in use and the decisive factor was clearly the vast numbers of flies that bred and fed on soil infected by sewage effluent, on manure flooded by sewage effluent, and on sewage farm sludge scattered in the vicinity.

The construction of Western Native Township at Newlands represented an improvement. The site was decidedly better and great care was taken that sanitary and washing arrangements were adequate. Here standards of cleanliness and tidiness in homes were superior to those found in Klipspruit Location. (7)

Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare and Alexandra were four areas in which Africans were permitted to settle of their own accord. In attempting to provide accommodation for the remainder, the Municipal Council was faced with a very real difficulty in finding the necessary finance. Revenue derived from white employers in payment of fees for monthly passes for African employees, was paid to the central authorities and Africans derived no benefit from this. In an attempt to provide the means of furnishing housing for Africans, the Municipal Council attempted to trade on their desire for alcohol. As a report of the Diocesan Board of Missions commented in May 1921:

It is recognized that the natives have little chance of leading healthier and more moral lives until they have a more wholesome environment, but to make the sale of liquor to them the condition of sanitary and housing improvement is to attempt to cure one evil by introducing another. (8)

For all the efforts of the Municipal Council, the

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- (7) Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, Report of the Housing Sub-Committee, 1923, p.4.
 - (8) CPSA, Diocese of Pretoria, Diocesan Board of Missions, Minutes 1905-1921, p.250.

fact remains that municipal institutions such as locations were established without those who were to reside in them having any say. In an attempt to legitimise these establishments, the Municipal Council then held elections for Native Advisory Committees. For example, in July 1920, residents of Western Native Township were allowed to elect a Native Advisory Committee of seven and each member was paid £6 for serving on the Committee. The first chairman was Stephen Molotsane and the first secretary was Richardson Ntsala.⁽⁹⁾

The Committee had no power of its own, but acted merely as a body advising or assisting the Municipal Council. When the Council experienced difficulty in obtaining monthly rents from tenants, the Native Advisory Committee lent assistance in getting these tenants to liquidate their debts and leave the township. If this failed, the Council resorted to ejectment orders against defaulters.⁽¹⁰⁾

Unfortunately it has not been possible to ascertain the proportion of residents who actually exercised a vote, but the nature of the activities in which this Committee involved itself indicates compliance with municipal ambitions. Its role appears to have been similar to that of the headmen appointed by the Location Superintendent in Klipspruit Location.⁽¹¹⁾ When the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was passed, the Union Government continued this policy.

In fact, in promulgating the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, the Union Government adopted a policy that was already proving a failure. It did not confer on local authorities any powers that they did not already possess, but instead imposed on them heavy obligations by way of their having to provide accommodation for all Africans within urban areas.

(9) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, vol.29, p.21.

(10) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, vol.29, p.21.

(11) See p.127.

It did not deal with the important question of empowering local authorities to control the influx of Africans into the urban centres of employment. Nor did it make any provision for Municipal Councils to be compensated for losses suffered on capital outlays.

That definite changes in policy were necessary is evident from the rising tide of African opposition.⁽¹²⁾ That the Municipal Council was aware that opposition was increasing is indicated by its refusal to accede to the request of the Universal Church of Christ for a site on which to build a church in Western Native Township.⁽¹³⁾ This church was not under white supervision, while the Wesleyan Methodists who were, were granted permission to erect a church in the township.⁽¹⁴⁾

In addition to such measures, the response to African opposition was also of a more subtle nature in that attempts were made to divide the opposition and placate the middle and upper class elements. Elections for Native Advisory Committees were held. The formation of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives was permitted. Umteteli wa Bantu was published in opposition to the somewhat militant Abantu-Batho.

Following the publication of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in the Union Gazette Extraordinary on the 1st February 1923, the Municipal Council continued along its earlier path and its housing programme for Africans in the Municipality was developed side by side with the provisions of the Act, Africans being segregated from other members of the community of Johannesburg.

Very serious consideration was given to the selection of the first site chosen for slum clearance. The Malay

(12) See Chapter VII.

(13) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, 13.11.1923.

(14) Report to Parks and Estates Committee, 29.5.1923.

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Location had for many years past been regarded by the Medical Officer of Health as a menace to the health of the community. This appeared to identify it as the first area from which Africans should be evacuated. Since the Municipal Council had no power whatever to prevent Malays and other Coloured people from living in the Malay Location, it was likely that Africans would simply be replaced by Coloured people, so that no real improvement in the state of the location would result.

The first area to be delimited for segregation operations was thus the white residential district in New Doornfontein, an area that had been heavily infiltrated by Africans. ⁽¹⁵⁾ A census was accordingly taken by the staff of the Medical Officer of Health and early in January 1920 over 1 200 notices were served on all non-exempted Africans, giving them one month's warning to obtain accommodation in a municipal location or barracks, and advising property owners of the heavy penalties they would be liable to incur if they helped Africans. ⁽¹⁶⁾

In addition, the pass numbers of these Africans and the names and addresses of the property owners so warned were supplied to the Department of Native Affairs and to the Police, so that those who were subsequently found to have failed to comply with the terms of the warning could be prosecuted. Further a list was prepared of insanitary rooms thus vacated for amendment or closure, and of unauthorised shacks for removal.

At the same time the Health Committee defined the general grounds on which exemption from segregation might be sanctioned. These were where employers had provided, or were prepared to provide in non-residential areas, approved and properly supervised accommodation for their African employees, where Africans were necessarily employed

(15) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the period 1922-1923-1924, p.55.

(16) Rand Daily Mail, 19.2.1925.

in the care of animals after working hours, and where the services of Africans were required at very early hours in the morning on premises inconveniently situated in relation to hostels and barracks. (17)

In March 1925 the delimitation of a second area was decided upon, namely, a small portion of the Malay Location and an area adjacent to New Doornfontein. Africans were then moved out of Jeppe, Wolhuter and part of Vrededorp. (18)

To provide for these people, 300 new cottages were built at Western Native Township, and 200 cottages at Eastern Native Township near Wolhuter. Accommodation for 1 280 Africans was erected at Wemmer Compound. (19)

By the end of 1925 some 4 000 Africans had been transferred. Notices had been served on about 5 000, but some had disappeared into slum areas and other districts. (20) In such cases the Chief Native Commissioner and the Police were supplied with their names and pass numbers, so that they could be prosecuted "when run to earth". (21)

During the course of this urban segregation, the point arose whether Africans employed in restaurants in kitchens and cleaning work were 'domestic servants'. In view of the large number of Africans who had to be accommodated, the Chief Native Commissioner who was invested with the legal enforcement of segregation, decided to interpret the term "domestic servant" very liberally "for the time being". (22) Furthermore, employers were not compelled to house domestic servants on their own domestic premises, since the Natives

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- (17) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1922-1923-1924, p.55.
 - (18) Rand Daily Mail, 7.3.1925.
 - (19) Rand Daily Mail, 7.3.1925.
 - (20) Rand Daily Mail, 30.12.1925.
 - (21) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the period 1922-1923-1924, p.56.
 - (22) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the period 1922-1923-1924, p.55.

(Urban Areas) Act stipulated only that "sleeping and sanitary accommodation to the satisfaction of the urban local authority has been provided by his employer". (23)

Another interesting point was raised by the application of owners of townships that were already occupied by Africans or Coloured people to have them proclaimed 'Native Townships'. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act provided only for 'Native Locations' and 'Native Villages', which could not be privately owned, but had to be owned and controlled by the Municipal Council. It was possible for such owners to apply, with the concurrence of the Municipal Council, to the Minister of Native Affairs for approval of their townships as areas for residence of Africans. Acting on the advice of the Medical Officer of Health, the Parks and Estates Committee refused to support any such applications, because it could have resulted in the establishment of private locations over which the Municipal Council would have little control. However, it was decided that Africans already living in such townships as Sophiatown and Newclare, would not be interfered with "for the present", but that newcomers would be granted only temporary permits to reside there. (24)

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 did therefore compel the Municipality of Johannesburg to proceed with providing better housing for Africans ejected from the slums. Nevertheless, as the scheme progressed, very definite defects came to light. First it was far too costly. Maintenance and extension of Western Native Township alone, was costing £15 000 per annum. (25) Secondly, the houses were too small. Since houses were two-roomed, the use of locations was limited to small families. Thirdly, the costs of

(23) Section 5(2)(c).

(24) Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the years 1922-1923-1924, p.56.

(25) Report of Sub-Committee of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives on "Lawlessness among Johannesburg Natives", p.2.

travelling were a heavy burden to such small wage-earners as the Africans were. Sanitary and water charges were on the same scale as those paid in white residential areas such as Parktown, and these expenses constituted a further burden to Africans. Given the standard of their wages, Africans were unable to pay an economic rent and to maintain an adequate standard of living.

Most of the problems of African settlement stemmed from this inadequate wage. Unsatisfactory social conditions led to crime and drunkenness, while the need for both parents to work led to juvenile delinquency. To this extent, the private sector was responsible for bad conditions. The official authorities too failed to promote satisfactory conditions for Africans who settled in urban areas. As an example insufficient schools were provided. Those that were subsidised were overcrowded and in many instances classes were conducted in two shifts of three hours each.⁽²⁶⁾ A recreation ground at Western Native Township and sports facilities at the Government School at Klipspruit Location were the only recreational facilities provided for Africans. As a result the consumption of liquor was the most popular form of leisure-time activity.

Public health work among Africans was left largely to church bodies. The American Board Mission opened general clinics in Doornfontein and Alexandra, and the Anglican Church had a general clinic and a baby clinic in Sophiatown as well as occasional clinics at Klipspruit Location.⁽²⁷⁾ The active opposition of Ratepayers' Associations and prohibitory clauses in Township Leases and Deeds made church activity or any form of organised recreation virtually impossible in the white residential areas of Johannesburg.

(26) Report of Sub-Committee of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives on "Lawlessness among Johannesburg Natives," p.3.

(27) Report of Sub-Committee of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives on "Lawlessness among Johannesburg Natives," p.9.

APPENDIX A

OFFICIAL TRAVELLING PASS.		OFFICIAL TRAVELLING PASS.	
INDEMNITY FOR TRAVELLING ON RAILWAYS Issued at _____ Date _____ Signature _____ Stamp _____	Serial No. 1. Name (Native)..... 2. Name known by..... 3. Location or place of Residence..... 4. Tribe or Nationality..... 5. Travelling to..... 6. By way of (Route)..... 7. For purpose of..... 8. Has in his possession (stock or property)..... Issued at..... Date.....100... Signature of Issuing Officer.	Serial No. 1. Name (Native)..... 2. Name known by..... 3. Location or place of residence..... 4. Tribe or Nationality..... 5. Travelling to..... 6. By way of (Route)..... 7. For purpose of..... 8. Has in his possession (stock or property)..... Issued at..... Date.....100..... Signature of Issuing Officer.	STAMP

Transvaal Proclamation No. 37 of 1901.

APPENDIX B

Scale of Tariff

Klipspruit Location	Tariff per month	
	1919 ⁽¹⁾	1924 ⁽²⁾
Single room : per person	£0 : 4 : 6	£0 : 4 : 6
Married quarters : per family	9 : 6	9 : 6
V-shaped huts :	6 : 0	6 : 0
Semi-circular huts :	12 : 0	10 : 0
Stands for private dwelling-houses	8 : 0	5 : 0
Stands for business purposes	28 : 0	4 : 6
Houses of two or more rooms, purchased from African	10-60 : 0	
Wash Site : Klipspruit		
Licence : per person	5 : 0	1 : 6
Hut rent : per person	3 : 0	3 : 0
Salisbury and Jubilee Compound		
Accommodation for single person	5 : 0	4 : 6
Accommodation for single person per night	3	3
Wemmer Compound		
Accommodation for single person		4 : 6
Accommodation for single person per night		3
Western Township		
Stands for private dwelling-house	15 : 0	10 : 0
Stands for business purposes	40 : 0	
House, two rooms, per family	25 : 0	15 : 0
Single room	15 : 0	7 : 6
Nissen huts		10 : 0

All the above include water, sanitary pail and the removal of rubbish.

(1) Council Minutes, 11.8.1919.

(2) Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, Correspondence, Native Affairs Conference, 1924.

APPENDIX C

POPULATION - JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPAL AREA (1)

	Europeans	Africans	Asiatics	Coloured
1896 (Figures for area within three miles of Market Square)	50 907	42 533	4 807	3 831
			8 638	
1904	83 363	59 605	5 348	7 326
			12 674	
1911	119 953	101 971	15 180	
1921	150 286	115 120	6 214	11 351
			17 565	

(1) U.G. 7-1934, p.82.

EXPLANATORY NOTE ON SOURCES

Little was known about the subject selected for research and even less about the material available. Secondary literature did not include the influx and settlement of Africans as a significant aspect of the growth and development of Johannesburg from a mining camp to a flourishing city. The one possible exception was J.P.R. Maud's City Government, but even here the involvement of Africans receives only brief treatment.

The Transvaal Archives in Pretoria were found to be the repository of a vast amount of relevant material. In this respect, the records of the Town Clerk of the City of Johannesburg were particularly valuable. Some of this material was published, indexed and readily available. Council Minutes, Minutes of the Mayors and Reports of the Medical Officers of Health all belong to this category.

For much of this material no inventory was available. In terms of the Archives Amendment Act,⁽¹⁾ the Municipality of Johannesburg had sent the records it regarded as relevant to the Transvaal Archives in 1970. After I had eventually ascertained that these records were in the Transvaal Archives, the task of sorting had to be undertaken. It was found unfortunately that much that may have been of interest had been destroyed before reaching the Transvaal Archives so that what was sent there was of a somewhat incomplete nature. Furthermore, in some instances, material that according to official lists should have been in the Archives, could not be found.

The unpublished material that remains, for example, the Reports and Minutes of the Parks and Estates Committee,

(1) U.G. 63-1969.

the Correspondence relating to Sites for Native Locations and the Reports of the City Engineer, while incomplete, was of untold value. In addition to the Transvaal Archives, the Central Archives Depot also in Pretoria, contained relevant material. The records of the Secretary of Justice and the records of the Secretary of Native Affairs were most useful.

Material from these archives, as well as official government reports at both local and central levels, provided the bulk of the factual information for this dissertation. The volume of this material proved adequate, but what was certainly in short supply was informal material of the nature that throws light on questions relating to everyday life and conjures up the atmosphere of particular situations.

This lack was keenly felt since oral material proved virtually impossible to obtain. Because of deaths and difficulties encountered in locating people, it was not possible to obtain first-hand information from residents in the respective townships. The committee that was appointed to investigate grievances in Nancefield Location in 1919 interviewed numerous residents and while this did serve to bridge certain gaps, much remains unanswered.

Visual material proved a rich and enlightening source. In this connection, the collection of photographs and films assembled for the 'History Workshop - The Witwatersrand : Labour, Townships and Patterns of Protest' held in February 1978, must be mentioned. In addition, oil paintings, for example by Pieter Wenning (1873-1921), were invaluable in conjuring up the atmosphere of the slum areas and locations.

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II HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPT (HISTORICAL PAPERS SECTION,
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Howard Pim Collection

Bh Municipal 1903-1932
BL2 Native Affairs 1905-1934
BL4 Joint Council of Europeans and Natives
Cc General 1905-1934
Fa1 Native Affairs 1894-1933, Speeches and
Articles
Fa2 Native Affairs 1894-1933, Notes
Fa9 Native Affairs, Joint Council of Europeans
and Natives
Fa11 Native Affairs, Bantu Men's Social Centre
Gb Native Affairs, Loose Files
Hb8 Native Affairs

III INTERVIEWS

16.4.1977 : Peter Gumbi whose grandfather was a
washerman at Klipspruit Location
(Tape in the possession of T.Couzens)
13.6.1977 : Anna H. Smith, former chief librarian
at the Johannesburg Public Library
and author of Johannesburg Street Names
13.6.1978 : Major F.J. Rodseth, first Inspector of
Locations (1923-1924) in the Union
Department of Native Affairs

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1849-1899
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U.G. 34-1912 Report of the Transvaal Leasehold
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U.G. 62-1912 Report of the Chief Commissioner of
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U.G. 4-1920 Report of the Housing Committee
U.G. 4-1921 Report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission
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U.G. 34-1922 Report of the Department of Native
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